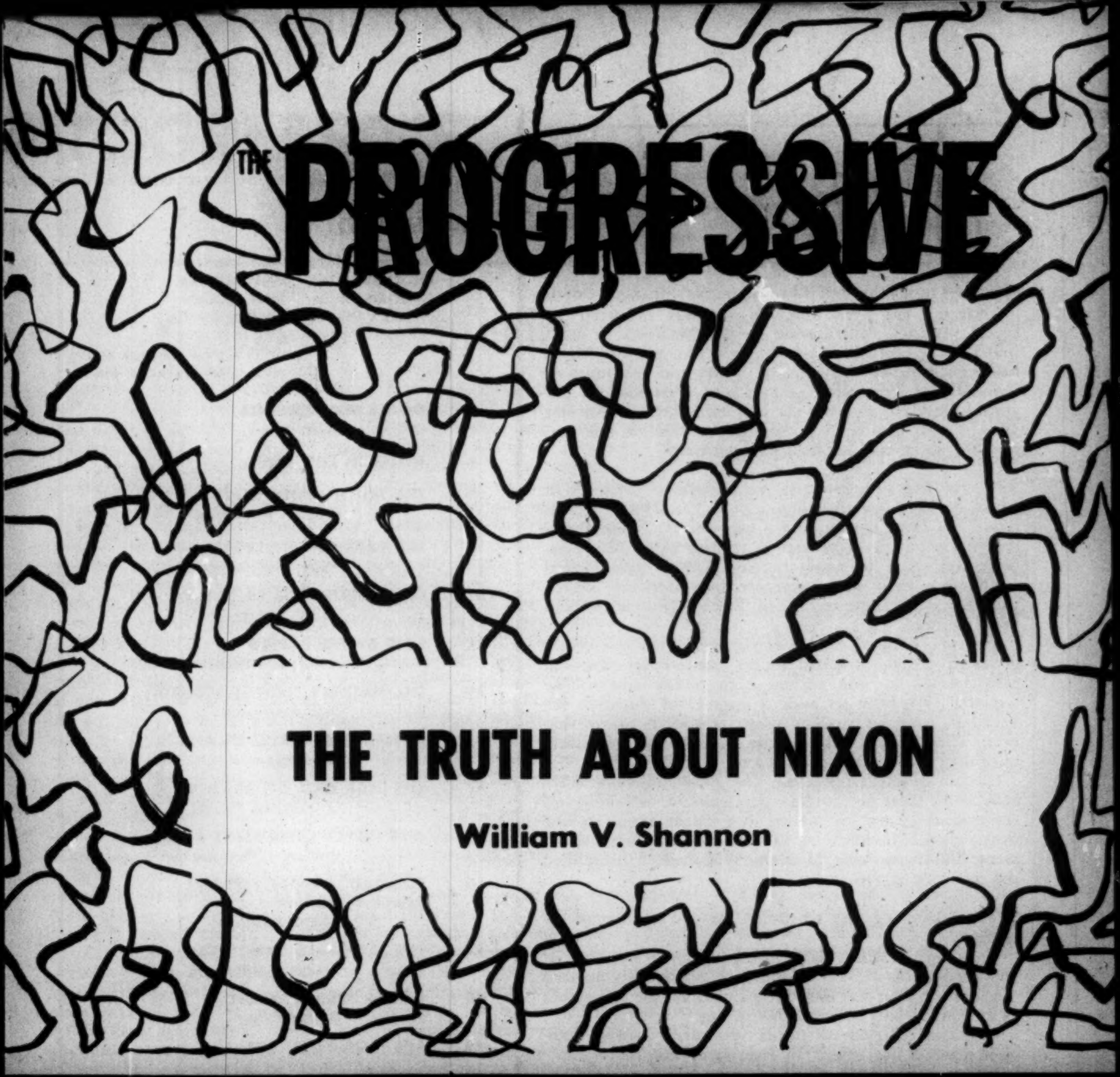

THE PROGRESSIVE

THE TRUTH ABOUT NIXON

William V. Shannon

THE FAITH OF A LIBERAL — Hubert H. Humphrey

I SEE BY THE PAPERS — James A. Wechsler

WHO FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM? — Milton Mayer

50 CENTS MARCH 1960

Office memo

THE SUN broke through *The Progressive's* financial clouds one day last week when the mailman delivered the eagerly awaited contribution to the Membership fund that put the campaign over the top. The goal of $30,000 has been achieved through the loyalty and generosity of thousands of *Progressive* readers who responded to our appeal for funds to carry the magazine through the year 1960. To all who helped insure the survival of *The Progressive,* we extend our heartfelt gratitude.

●

"Using *The Progressive* in my classroom," writes high school teacher Howard Hallgren of St. Louis Park, Minnesota, "has been a stimulating experience. Most of the students admit to adventures in reading never before experienced. And to some students *The Progressive* has really been their first adventure into thinking. Many parents have become readers of *The Progressive* through their children."

We can think of no better reminder than Mr. Hallgren's tribute that it is still not too late to enter classroom subscriptions for the current high school and college semester. We have set aside a number of copies of the February issue for student subscriptions, to insure that every school order will include each of the five issues published during the spring term.

Classroom subscriptions to *The Progressive* are available at 75 cents per student per semester, providing all the magazines may be mailed in a single bundle to the instructor for distribution. Orders sent to School Department, The Progressive, Madison, Wisconsin, will be filled the day they arrive.

●

The appetizing fare scheduled for the April issue includes:

¶ Michael Amrine's penetrating study of Presidential hopeful Senator Hubert Humphrey. Amrine has devoted much of the past year to writing a book on the Minnesota Democrat, to be published this spring.

¶ Another chapter of James Wechsler's incisive commentaries on our times, "Is Everybody Happy?"

¶ "The Affluence Peddlers," Margaret Halsey's brilliant insight into the moral sickness of the Fifties.

¶ A primer on disarmament by John Swomley.

¶ Lucy Carner's appreciation of Jane Addams on the occasion of the centennial of her birth.

¶ Anthony Netboy's survey of food additives and their relationship to cancer.

●

The most persistently popular *Progressive* reprint of recent times is Adlai Stevenson's "America's Broken Mainspring." Published almost a year ago, it is now in its third reprinting. Copies are fifteen cents each, five for fifty cents, or fifteen for one dollar. Prices for larger quantities will be sent on request by the Reprint Department.

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FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr

MARCH, 1960

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THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Goals for America

DURING THE past month President Eisenhower fired a volley of statements at Congress and the country emphasizing more sharply than ever before his dislike and distrust of government as an active partner in the shaping of the national economy. In four messages to Congress—on the budget, the state of the union, the economic report, and agriculture—the Chief Executive recurringly circumscribed the government's role in favor of the "free forces" of private enterprise.

Few incidents illuminate more graphically the President's philosophy of government than his curious handling of his plan to establish a Commission on National Goals. More than a year ago, in a message to Congress, he proposed the establishment of such a commission composed of "selfless and devoted individuals" to make "the necessary appraisal of the potentials of our future."

Here, surely, was a *public* enterprise—the shaping of "goals that stand high and so inspire every citizen to climb toward mounting levels of moral, intellectual, and material strength." But Mr. Eisenhower, bewitched by the notion that any enterprise in which the government participates must be suspect, insisted on two limitations—that every member of the commission must be "outside of government," and that the three to five million dollars required to finance the study come exclusively from private sources.

No member of Congress and no representative of the executive branch of government, however close they might be to the heart of the subject of inquiry, were to contaminate the study. Not a penny of public funds was to soil the project.

More than a year went by without much happening. Most of the press, generous to a fault, as always, with Mr. Eisenhower, slept on the story. All through 1959 no embarrassing questions were asked about whatever had happened to the President's plan, announced in January of that year. Last month, when he announced the composition of the commission at long last, it turned out that he had experienced great difficulty getting private citizens of eminence to serve on his strictly private commission, and that he had encountered even greater resistance in passing the tin cup among private foundations for the invisible fraction of one per cent of the national budget required for the project. It did not seem to occur to the President that there was something utterly debasing about having the richest nation on earth beg a few millions from private charity. His only concern, it seems, was that the participation of the people, through their elected government, would somehow innoculate the project with a fatal virus.

It was this same obsessive commitment to the private sector of our national life, to the exclusion of public planning and government participation, that dominated his thinking in the preparation of his message to Congress. In his budget message, for example, he slighted or ignored urgent needs in the fields of education, housing, urban renewal, health, social security, public works, and resource development—not only because he is wedded to a balanced budget, but also because of his abhorrence for expanding the public welfare domain of the federal government.

His messages betrayed an extraordinary complacency, and with it a disturbing resignation to let the national economy limp along as it is, expanding at a rate of less than three per cent a year instead of the five per cent which most economists, including those who prepared the report for the Rockefeller Brothers, believe is not only possible but vital if we are to build a healthy economy and keep ahead of the Soviet Union in the all-important non-military struggle of competitive co-existence.

Even as Mr. Eisenhower was trying to exalt stagnation as a way of life, the Soviet Union's Premier Nikita Khrushchev was delivering his own state of the union message to the Supreme Soviet. Between 1953 and 1959, he reported, "gross national production increased ninety per cent in the U.S.S.R. and eleven per cent in the United States. Per capita production increased seventy-one per cent in the U.S.S.R. and 0.3 per cent in the United States. Russian iron production went up fifty-seven per cent, American sixteen per cent; steel up fifty-seven per cent, U.S. down sixteen per cent; coal up fifty-eight per cent, U.S. down twelve per cent; oil up 145 per cent, U.S. up nine per cent; power up ninety-seven per cent, U.S. up fifty-six per cent."

* * *

These figures, of course, are not quite so dramatic as they seem. The United States is still well ahead of the Soviet Union in production achievements, but it is the trend, the direction, the driving purpose, the rate of expansion, the use to which increased production is put that count so much now. It seems only yesterday that the United States was supreme in science and weaponry. Now the Soviets have caught up with us, and passed us in some fiendish fields. It isn't too preposterous to wonder if the Soviet Union might not, given its startling rate of growth, open up an economic gap which, in the long struggle of competitive co-existence, might prove more decisive than the current "missile gap" which preoccupies so many of our politicians and publicists.

President Eisenhower is happy that consumption is increasing and profits are rising. It doesn't seem to matter that the national unemployment rate stays at six per cent, that the annual rate of economic growth slumps below three per cent, that we urgently need more than 130,000 new school rooms, or that our health facilities are woefully inadequate. The important consideration, it would seem, is to increase consumption.

The President's philosophy was expressed for him by Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, chairman of his Council of Economic Advisers, when he said: "The ultimate purpose of the American economy is to produce more consumer goods. This is the object of everything that we are working at—to produce things for consumers." His emphasis on consumer goods drew this reply from Senator Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania Democrat and one of the most consistently liberal voices in Congress: "The goal of our economy is to provide an environment in which *every* American family can have a good house for living and shelter, a good school to send their children to, good transportation facilities, and good opportunity for cultural and spiritual advancement."

* * *

The Eisenhower Administration's serene assurance that all is well in the land and there is no need for the nation to raise its sights is shared, of course, by Vice-President Nixon. But the Vice-President is also a candidate for President, which means he cannot afford to be as smug as his chief. The result is that while echoing the President's blissful estimate of how we are faring and whither we are tending, Nixon lets on now and then that perhaps things could be better than they are and will be if he gets to occupy the White House. In a major speech in Chicago recently, for instance, he went down the line extolling our supremacy in major fields, but in each case he craftily added, for the independent vote, that much remains to be done. Two examples:

American agriculture, the Vice President said, is the most productive on earth, *but* "there is no higher priority than a complete overhauling of obsolete farm programs."

The American educational system is the best in the world, *but* "inadequate classrooms, underpaid teachers, and flabby standards are weaknesses we must constantly strive to eliminate." (Hardly a week later, Nixon broke a tie and killed a Senate bill providing federal aid to education.)

It must have been this kind of performance that led Adlai Stevenson to observe that the Eisenhower Administration is like a tranquilizer pill factory. With each speech and each public appearance, it seeks to "lead us gently and expertly into an unreal, delightful, trivial world, without veracity, without dignity, without humanity, and without purpose except, of course, the purpose of balancing the budget."

What is fundamentally at fault is a lack of faith by the President and his Administration in the capacity of a free people to accept responsibility and exercise discipline in an effort to advance the general welfare. Mr. Eisenhower betrayed this absence of trust in the people at a recent press conference. Replying to critics who believe we must achieve a "greater tempo" in our national development, the President snapped that to do this we shall have to "take our country and make it an armed camp and regiment it . . . and get people steamed up like you did in wars."

The important thing, the President said in dismissing pressure for federal aid to education, housing, health, and the like, is to think and talk more about the "values . . . which we do believe"—"our own individual freedoms and rights . . . Our people ought to have greater faith in their own system."

But it is the President who lacks faith in the American system, whose Constitution directs the government to "provide for the general welfare." It is the President who forgets that the Declaration of Independence, after dealing with freedoms and rights, goes on to assert that "to secure these rights *governments* are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." There is nothing in the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence that enshrines consumer goods as our ultimate goal or outlaws public service and planning for the general welfare as repugnant to the free way of life. There is nothing in either document to suggest that our system is safeguarded or its cause advanced by denying to the government of the people the right to expand their economy beyond the level attained by the "free" market in the making and selling of consumer goods for private profit.

Walter Lippmann, certainly no rabble-rousing radical, writing in the arch-Republican New York *Herald-Tribune,* lashed out at President Eisenhower for "talking like a tired old man who has lost touch with the springs of our national vitality." It is the Chief Executive, he rightly pointed out, who has so little faith in our democratic system that he cannot see how we can meet the Soviet challenge and respond to the social and economic demands of our rapidly rising population while still retaining "our own individual freedoms and rights."

* * *

"It is the President who is saying," Lippmann wrote, "that with a $500 billion economy, the American nation will lose its freedom if it devotes to public purposes a somewhat larger share of national power. It is he who is saying that our system of liberty is so fragile that it is not tough enough and durable enough to keep up the pace in the great contest of national power.

"With all due respect, he has sunk into, he has resigned himself to, an attitude of defeatism in which there is no faith that our people have the will, the energy, the resourcefulness, and the capacity to close ranks, if they are summoned to make a greater effort."

The object of our economy is not to become fat with consumer goods. It is to use our wealth and power to provide equality of opportunity in building a decent society for all our people. Building homes and hospitals and schools and recreation centers as public enterprises is at least as helpful in maintaining "rights and freedoms" of which the President spoke as encouraging the private consumption of consumer goods.

"There is nothing very convincing or inspiring," Lippmann said, "in loving our liberty to enjoy consumer goods so that we cannot afford to educate our children. If we ourselves believe in the ideals and spiritual aims about which so much is said, we have something else to do besides maximize the enjoyment of consumer goods."

The President has appointed his Commission on National Goals. It is doubtful that its report will be ready before the Chief Executive retires next year. It is even more doubtful that he would do anything about the report if it did reach him in time, for there are countless documents laboriously compiled by other commissions appointed by Mr. Eisenhower which have been filed and forgotten over the past seven years.

Still, it strikes us as somewhat significant that Mr. Eisenhower decided to have such an inquiry made at all. Perhaps even he suspects somewhere deep inside that we are traveling the wrong road—and that he could come more readily to accept such a judgment if it were reached in a private investigation by private individuals privately financed.

The President's Commission, in charting goals for America, might begin by studying the goals proclaimed more than a century and a half ago by another commission—the framers of our Constitution. Unlike Mr. Eisenhower, they made it clear in their Preamble that they saw nothing at all contradictory in having a government "promote the general welfare" and at the same time "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." No one in our time has written a more effective reply to the President's lament that planning for the general welfare means "an armed camp;" no one in our time has charted a more helpful goal for America as it confronts the greatest challenge of its history than the men who drafted our Constitution.

Government planning for the public welfare and government preservation of individual liberty are not only constitutional; they are imperative goals for an America that must shake off complacency and stagnation in the decisive struggle of competitive coexistence with a powerful competing system that emphasizes welfare to the exclusion of freedom. To argue, as the President does, that welfare curtails or destroys freedom makes as little sense to us as the Soviet insistence that freedom is not compatible with welfare.

NOTES in the NEWS

Second Thoughts on Kerala

Kerala, one of the most literate, Catholic, and poverty-stricken states of India, was captured by the Communists in the 1957 election—the first Red victory in a free election anywhere on earth. The Communists won 39 per cent of the vote, but the split in anti-Communist parties enabled the Red forces to form a government. Kerala remained Communist for twenty-eight months. The Red regime collapsed, however, when it sought last summer to take control of the religious—largely Catholic—schools amidst bloody rioting.

Prime Minister Nehru's national government took over administrative control of Kerala to restore law and order, and decreed new elections, which were held last month. The results were blazoned in the American press in headlines that read like this: COMMUNISTS CRUSHED IN KERALA.

The headlines, and much of the dispatches under them, hammered home the glowing news that the Communists and their allies had received only twenty-nine out of the 126 legislative seats, while the united front of anti-Communist parties captured ninety-four seats with three seats going to other parties.

Good news, indeed—as far as it went. What most jubilant news reports and editorials suppressed or buried was the fact that the anti-Communist parties, merged for the first time as a united front, could not prevent the Communists from making a better showing than they had two years before. It was only the *ad hoc* alliance of parties which could not unite in the past—and may not be able to do so again—that prevented the Communists from sweeping the elections again.

The uncomfortable fact, which was hard to come by in the American press, is *that the Communists not only increased their total vote by more than a million over the last election—from 2,300,000 to 3,500,000—but, more important, they advanced their percentage from 39 to 42 per cent.* All the evidence indicated that the Communists had firmly established themselves as the party of the poor and the underprivileged in one of the poorest and most underprivileged states in India—and that it will take a bold, far-ranging program by the victorious coalition to make a major dent in the growing Communist strength.

It is significant, and, to some extent reassuring, to have additional evidence that when anti-Communist forces unite in a free country, they have an excellent chance of winning. But it helps us not at all in searching for the causes of Communist appeal in India, or in planning American foreign policy in the struggle of competitive co-existence, to go to bed with the tranquilizing untruth, COMMUNISTS CRUSHED IN KERALA.

'Humane' Horrors

Congressman Robert W. Kastenmeier, the freshman Wisconsin Democrat who is waging a battle against the use of chemical and germ warfare, pointed out in an article in the December *Progressive* that one of the Army's chief arguments for using these weapons is that they are "humane." More recent news on the nature of some of the diseases being prepared to kill and cripple populations "humanely" drove us to our dictionary (Webster's). We're convinced the Army is talking a different language.

In a report to Kastenmeier, the Defense Department revealed there have been 715 cases of illnesses and three deaths among personnel working in chemical and biological research. We have no way of judging if this is many or few in relation to the number employed and the unknown risks involved, but the revealing information in the report is the list of "humane" diseases which felled them ("humane: kind, tender, merciful, considerate"):

¶ Plague (the frightful Black Death of the Middle Ages).

¶ Anthrax ("ulcerations of the skin, enlargement of spleen, general collapse").

¶ Acute brucellosis ("long-persisting, characterized by an undulating fever, profuse perspiration, pain and swelling in the joints").

¶ Tularemia, Q fever, encephalitis, dysentery, and glanders, and others unnamed for "security" reasons.

This is the chamber of horrors the Army is trying to sell the Administration, Congress, and the American people. And it is not content to develop them as last ditch defensive weapons, but rather is pushing hard for a green light to use them first, as offensive weapons, whether an enemy resorts to them or not.

Foreign Policy vs. the Military

Representative Kastenmeier is attempting to prevent the Army from gaining exclusive control of this Pandora's box of miseries through a resolution now before the House. The resolution would reaffirm our traditional policy forbidding the use of chemical or germ warfare *unless first used by an enemy* against the United States.

This is a modest enough goal, considering the universal loathing of the peoples of the world for the use of these deadly weapons under any conditions. And the great propaganda power of "germ warfare" in foreign policy should be indelibly impressed on American minds after the considerable success of the false Communist charges against us in the Korean War. Are we now to adopt the very policy which so discredited us—falsely—in the eyes of so much of the Oriental world?

This is why Kastenmeier reported he was "puzzled" by a letter from President Eisenhower in response to his request that the President restrain the demands of the Defense Department. The President replied that he had asked the Defense Department—not the State Department—to review the matter.

"What puzzles me," said Kastenmeier, "is that the matter should be left to the Defense Department. It is clearly a foreign policy matter involving also our whole political philosophy . . . not merely one of military tactics."

Fortunately, there are still clear heads who see the issue in its true perspective. In the House, Kastenmeier's resolution was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

A Pill By Any Other Name . . .

If you are one of the millions of Americans who each year consume a grand total of two billion Miltown and Equanil tranquilizers, you were probably not calmed by the news emanating from Senator Estes Kefauver's Anti-Trust Subcommittee hearings that you are paying more than ten cents for a pill produced at a cost of less than a penny. Nor does it soothe the nerves to know that in France you could buy the same medicine for eighty per cent less.

The Senate investigation into the high cost of tranquilizers—now the most prescribed drugs in the United States—followed closely the lines of its earlier inquiry into cortisone and other drugs, discussed here in last month's issue. The same patterns of monopoly, enormous profits, and fantastic sales and advertising costs were revealed.

¶ Carter Products, Inc., holds the patent on the drug meprobamate, sold under its own trade name, Miltown. Carter licenses American Home Products to sell the same drug—at the identical price—under the trade name Equanil. Thus Carter has a complete monopoly of the American market.

¶ John Blair, Anti-Trust Subcommittee economist, estimates Carter's profits at the astronomical figure of fifty-five per cent of net worth. (The company disputes this, but admits to the still tidy sum of forty-three per cent.)

¶ Promotion and sales costs run from one-fourth to one-third of gross sales. (In comparison, the automobile industry, which is no slouch in the advertising game, spends about two per cent of its gross sales income.)

Much of the promotion expense involves what one drug executive calls "aggressive communications"—a Madison Avenue term which, translated, means convincing the doctor, by personal call, by mail, and by elaborate clambakes, that he should prescribe a particular brand name drug rather than another, though they are identical.

The drug firms defend this practice as necessary education of the doctor, who learns about new drugs, they say, from the drug salesman. Some doctors agree, some disagree. But it is the patient who foots the bill many times over. This was proved dramatically by the testimony of Myron Panzer, president of Panray Corporation. He told of selling resperine, one of the major tranquilizers, at $6.25 wholesale for one thousand tablets. The druggist pays $100 for the identical tablets under the trade name Serpasil, produced by a firm which employes an army of men to canvass physicians, persuading them to prescribe drugs bearing the Serpasil brand name.

The price pyramids as the druggist adds his normal percentage markup to an already inflated cost. And the retail price hits as high as fifteen times basic production costs as huge profits, $140,000 a year salaries, million dollar stock option bonuses, and ultra-generous retirement pensions are piled on top of a basically plentiful, inexpensive product that has become an important element in modern day medicine.

The investigation continues, and what will come of it (besides more sales of tranquilizers) is anybody's guess. The *Wall Street Journal* ventures the opinion that "there is no apparent evidence the drug companies are considering any significant changes . . . ." But in the midst of the uproar, the Justice Department slapped an anti-trust suit against Carter Products for "competitive" bidding on a government contract that matched American Home Products' bid to the thousandth of a cent.

Nazi Threat In Germany

Harry Golden, the affable editor of the fabulous *Carolina Israelite,* says that anti-Semitism really started 75,000 years ago, long before there were any Jews, when a man shifted a wearisome burden from one shoulder to another and sighed, "Ah, what a relief." To escape responsibility, to shift the blame, to find a scapegoat, Golden is saying, is as old as man, and in Western-Christian culture, the scapegoat has for two millenniums been the Jews.

All the varieties of anti-Semitism that have existed over the centuries pale beside the monstrous extermination of millions of European Jews by the Nazis under Adolf Hitler. The unprecedented barbarism of Hitler's ruthless pogrom shattered the last vestiges of the false respectability of anti-Semitism—hopefully forever. That ancient and honored symbol, the swastika, is now synonymous, all over the world, with anti-Semitism. And, conversely, anti-Semitism has become the outward sign, the unifying symbol, of the smoldering remnants of Nazism.

In this perspective, the anti-Semitic outbreaks in West Germany, where there are a mere 30,000 Jews in a population of 54 million, takes on a complexion that goes deeper than "hooliganism." Paul Ghali, of the Chicago *Daily News* foreign service, reports widespread opinion among well informed Swiss observers that Nazi cells, active since the war in Germany and other countries, have formed an international organization which was responsible for the recent series of desecrations of Jewish buildings in Germany. However true this may be, an unhappier truth is that the climate in Germany itself is in some respects receptive to a resurgence of at least sporadic Nazi manifestations, with the inevitable accompaniment of anti-Semitism.

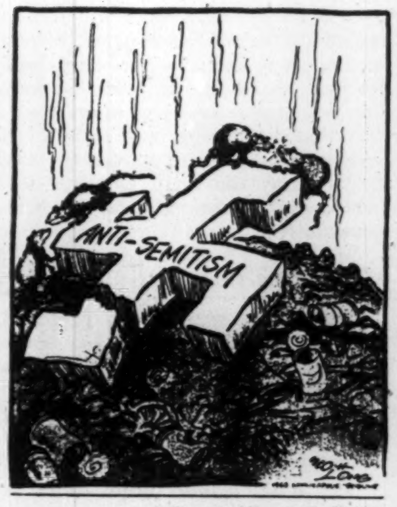
Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who himself is free of the Nazi taint, tolerates hundreds of former Nazis in executive and judicial positions—including three in high office. For example:

¶ Dr. Hans Globke, who wrote the official commentaries on Hitler's notorious racial code—the Nuremberg laws—is the Chancellor's right hand man.

¶ Interior Minister Gerhard Schroeder, the Reich's highest police official, was a Hitler Storm Trooper.

¶ Refugee Minister Theodor Oberlaender was a member of Hitler's movement as early as the 1923 Munich *Putsch,* and served in various officer roles through the war, particularly with the vicious Nightingale battalion, which "distinguished itself" in bestiality in exterminating Jews.

The Chancellor frightened many of his friends and conjured up specters of the lawlessness and chaos of the early Hitler era with his astounding advice, directed to all the German people, on how to handle perpetrators of anti-Semitic acts: "If you catch a hooligan anywhere, carry out the punishment on the spot and beat him up. That is the punishment he deserves."



Long in Minneapolis Tribune

There's Always Another Generation

Nor are the intimations of Adenauer and other officials that it is all a Communist plot to discredit the West German Republic convincing. Rather, they sidestep the failure of the Germans themselves to root out Nazism since the war.

This failure is startlingly evident in the literature, textbooks, and newspaper features which increasingly whitewash or ignore the evils of Nazism and romanticize its military exploits.

A recent history textbook devotes only thirteen lines to the subject of the extermination of the Jews. Ignorance of the horrors of the Nazi period is built into the German educational system, leading to such macabre incidents as the one involving the Marburg university students who disbelieved stories about the number of Jews murdered and proceeded to measure the gas chambers at Dachau to see whether it would have been possible.

A mass circulation weekly is currently running a series of articles attempting to prove the Nazis did not set fire to the Reichstag in 1933.

All this playing down of the gross evil of Hitlerism and an increasing building up of military heroes is accompanied by an analysis of the German past which removes personal guilt from the participants of the Nazi regime.

The German government, the Bundestag, trade unions, youth groups, churches, and universities have all sincerely condemned the anti-Semitic outbreaks. But it will take a sharper scalpel than honest indignation to remove the Nazi cancer, of which anti-Semitism is historically the most blatant manifestation.

The Western allies, particularly the United States, share responsibility for retarding the Germans' vast reeducation process. Their haste to return the Germans to a strong military position has provided fertile soil for the idea that Hitler's greatest mistake was to lose the war. Nor is the current problem solved by such recent actions as that of U.S. authorities in clamping a ban on information to the press about former Nazis, on the grounds that it might be embarrassing to the West German government. A deeper knowledge, a more profound understanding of the past and the present, by both Germans and their friends in the West, is necessary if there is to be a genuinely democratic Germany.

An Archbishop's Warning

In the heat of the widespread condemnation of the anti-Semitic atrocities in Germany, the cool and wise voice of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, sounded a warning before a convocation of twenty-eight bishops and some 200 other clerics in London.

"I have noticed," said Dr. Fisher, "a tendency here and elsewhere to turn this exhibition of anti-Semitism into a kind of spirit of anti-Germanism, and that is the one fatal thing we must not allow ourselves to do."

To which we can only respond with a hearty amen.

Lindbergh and the Jews

On October 18, 1938, Charles A. Lindbergh went to a dinner in Berlin. The principal guest that night was Hermann Goering, second only to Adolf Hitler in the Nazi hierarchy. Goering reached into his pocket, pulled out a Service Cross of the German Eagle, pinned it on Lindbergh "for his services to the aviation of the world, and particularly for his historic 1927 solo flight across the Atlantic."

Lindbergh, who subsequently opposed American involvement when World War II broke out in Europe, was pilloried throughout the nation as anti-Semitic. The most damning evidence invoked was the Nazi decoration awarded him by Goering.

Now, nearly twenty-two years afterward, it is revealed that Lindbergh was embarked on an errand of mercy for the Jews the night of that dinner with Goering. Colonel Truman Smith, now retired but then our military attache in Berlin, has told the story in a memoir written for "historical purposes" at the request of the Army Intelligence Division.

At the time, our ambassador to Germany, Hugh Wilson, desperately wanted to lure Goering to the American Embassy and thus by-pass Foreign Minister Joachim Ribbentrop on a matter of urgent importance. Wilson thought Goering would come if Lindbergh were there. Lindbergh agreed. So did Goering.

The ambassador, Colonel Smith now discloses, "hoped to obtain at such a dinner Goering's support for certain measures especially desired by our State Department concerning the easing of the financial plight of the large numbers of Jews who were being forced to emigrate from Germany in a penniless condition."

Ambassador Wilson, Smith points out, "felt that Goering was about the only leader in the Nazi government who might be won over to favor such a humanitarian measure." Shortly after he arrived, Goering whipped out the decoration and pinned it on Lindbergh, to the surprise of the latter and everyone else in the room.

Should Lindbergh have returned the decoration? We think so, but a letter from Ambassador Wilson to Lindbergh, dated August 4, 1941, says "neither you, nor I, nor any other American present, had any previous hint that the presentation would be made." Its refusal, under the circumstances, the letter adds, would have been "a breach of good taste, and an act offensive to a guest of the ambassador of your country."

Colonel Smith concludes his report of the historic incident with the observation that "Lindbergh distrusted the Nazi government of Germany, and found its anti-Semitic policies abhorrent." We of *The Progressive* felt at the time that this was true, and we said so. What we didn't know, and what apparently few others knew, was that Lindbergh was seeking to serve the cause of the persecuted Jews in Germany the night Goering decorated him in the name of the Nazi government.

Sabotage By Leak

The battle against the proposed ban on nuclear testing has gone underground. And like the tests themselves, it is a good deal more difficult to detect the opposition underground than when it was operating in the open.

The long, tedious negotiations at Geneva have never given cause for great optimism, but through sheer patience, drudgery, and stark determination, progress has been made slowly. Now this effort may have been effectively torpedoed by a premature "leak" of a compromise proposal the State Department had planned to offer the Russians at Geneva in the complete secrecy of the official negotiations. The compromise—subsequently made official by President Eisenhower—would exclude small, underground tests from an initial test ban agreement, since there is still considerable dispute concerning their detectability. But the British want a separate moratorium on the small tests, too, while scientists work out techniques for perfecting a detection system. It is this proviso which is anathema to the Atomic Energy Commission and the Pentagon, whose eagerness to resume exploding their lethal firecrackers is unlimited.

The nature and timing of the leak make it all but conclusive that it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the Defense Department or the AEC, or both, to scuttle the test ban. The price of this underhanded effort may run high. The British, our allies, are furious with us. The Russians, who were asked about the plan by newsmen instead of being given the opportunity of examining an official proposal in private sessions, naturally turned thumbs down on it.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, who has fought a relentless and often lonely fight to achieve a test ban, has attempted once again to make his colleagues on Capitol Hill face the danger of this inter-departmental sabotage of government policy. On the floor of the Senate he charged, "There are today persons in the government of the United States, or closely affiliated with it, who are determined to prevent a nuclear test suspension agreement. If they feel that way about it, let them come out in the open."

Past experience indicates that it would take a highly developed detection system to control the wily maneuvering of this band of dangerous men who are determined, at all costs, to resume nuclear testing. Meanwhile, a recent Gallup Poll revealed that fully seventy-seven per cent of the populace favors continuance of the test ban. Only eleven per cent oppose going on with the moratorium and twelve per cent had no opinion.

Symington for Peace

Senator Stuart Symington, Missouri Democrat, recently took his unannounced candidacy for President to Montgomery, Alabama, where he was duly interviewed by the local press, with these results:

Asked by a reporter whether he favored a proposal for federal voter registrars in areas where qualified Negroes are denied the ballot, he replied:

"I haven't studied it."

Would he support the anti-lynching measure now before the Senate?

"I don't know."

Is school desegregation proceeding rapidly enough or should the Justice Department be given power to initiate desegregation suits?

"In my state it is proceeding rapidly."

Mr. Symington spoke out firmly on what he called the chief issue of the coming campaign—world peace.

That last one must have taken a lot of courage.

The Truth About Nixon

by WILLIAM V. SHANNON

This is the sixth of a series of articles exploring Presidential possibilities for 1960. The seventh in the series, scheduled for April, will be a portrait of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey by Michael Amrine. Mr. Shannon, Washington correspondent and columnist for the New York Post, *has watched Richard M. Nixon at close range, as Congressman, Senator, and Vice President, for more than a decade.*—THE EDITORS.

THERE ARE five tests by which we should measure a man seeking the Presidency in the 1960's.

First, the Presidency is a place of moral leadership. A President should be an educator and a spokesman of a people whose destiny is greatness.

Second, a President must be a sagacious politician. The best of intentions are vain if the man in the White House is not practiced in the arts of political leadership and astute in party management.

Third, the Chief Executive must be just that: an effective executive. He is at the apex of a vast governmental structure employing millions of persons and spending billions of dollars.

Fourth, a President in the 1960's governs under the shadow of nuclear danger. He must have sound judgment and steady nerves in a time of recurring crises.

Fifth, a President should have sympathy for and comprehension of the needs and emotional drives of the colored and the impoverished and the restless peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, whose national and social revolutions may transform the world scene in the last forty years of this century. America should have a leader who can communicate and collaborate with the leaders of the underdeveloped countries.

By each of these five standards, Richard Milhous Nixon, the certain Republican candidate for President, fails.

The truth about Nixon is that he is not big enough for the biggest job in the world. No man, in the full sense of the term, is qualified to be President of the United States, but measured against the standard of the ideal candidate, Nixon falls so far short he is demonstrably unfit.

Nixon's strongest qualities are intelligence and industriousness. He is neither brilliant nor notably talented, but he is somewhat above average in intelligence; his mind seems quick, alert, orderly, and logical. His speeches and arguments, if dully phrased and often disingenuous, are invariably lucid and well-organized. He has roughly the same order of mental competence as the usual run of lawyers and business managers.

His industry is perhaps more than average. He has always been fiercely ambitious. As a student in high school, at Whittier College, and in Duke University Law School, he had to carry outside jobs, but he pushed himself to find time for extra-curricular activities and maintain scholarship grades. These accomplishments are no different from those of thousands of other students, but they are nonetheless praiseworthy and, in Nixon's case, particularly important because hard work, tenacity, and singleminded ambition are still his outstanding positive character traits.

Having cited his intelligence and industriousness, one has about exhausted the list of Nixon's strong points. An additional factor often mentioned by his advocates is a certain inner toughness, but this is, in Nixon, a considerably more ambiguous and complex strain than is usually described. The self-confident and the cruel are both tough, but if self-confidence is a strength, cruelty is a weakness.

Innocence until proved guilty is an adequate position in criminal court but it is no persuasive plea for making a man President of the United States, the grandest, most honored, most powerful public office to which an American can aspire. What is wrong with Nixon is his negative, empty record, the absence of his accomplishments, the paucity of his talents, the very ordinariness of the man.

* * *

This emptiness and these glaring deficiencies are more significant than the intermittent squalor of his methods or whether he is conservative or liberal. Every politician has enemies and is the object of controversy. He uses practical means that may sometimes be impugned. Nixon is probably the most hated major politician in American life today, but this would not matter if he had substantial achievements and a positive record. Nixon, however, has no visible claims to the office of President. A specious availability caused him to be placed on the ticket as a makeweight with General Eisenhower in 1952, and for eight years he has managed to retain that post. For five of those eight years, the President's fragile health has given Nixon an unusual leverage on the party machinery; there has been widespread awareness that he might, at any moment, become President through an act of fate. Nixon has been the man on the scene. He has blocked off potential competitors on the avenues to the throne by his presence and his manipulations.

Nixon Stirs Doubt, Antagonism, and Anxiety

Throughout the 1956 campaign, Richard Nixon told audiences: "Now at last we have a President we can hold up to our children as an example." If Nixon himself occupies the White House, will we be able to make that statement? It is in this context that Nixon's shabby record as a campaigner counts heavily against him. Our best and greatest Presidents were men of character and moral worth which enabled them to serve as exemplars for their own and later times; one has only to think of Washington and Lincoln and Wilson, each so different from the other but alike in their fierce integrity. The weight of the charge against Nixon is that he has not given any hint that he could provide this kind of high example; on the contrary, he has stirred doubt, antagonism, and anxiety.

The campaigns on which these misgivings are founded were his first, in 1946, when he defeated incumbent Democratic Representative Jerry Voorhis, now the president of the Cooperative League of America; then in 1950, when he defeated for the Senate Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, the famous actress and wife of actor Melvyn Douglas; in 1952 when, as General Eisenhower's running mate, he made several reckless speeches, and again in 1954 when he tried to keep alive McCarthyism and Communists-in-government as profitable issues but with no success. These four campaigns, one local, one statewide, and two nationwide, are the basis of the picture of the "old Nixon." During those eight years he established the pattern of behavior from which the more recent "new Nixon" is said to depart.

Stewart Alsop, the former member of the team of brothers who wrote the famous syndicated column and now an editor of the *Saturday Evening Post,* is favorably disposed toward Nixon as a potential President and makes an almost plausible case in his defense. For this reason, it is worth quoting from Alsop's recent book, *Nixon and Rockefeller,* on this phase of Nixon's career. The motif of the old Nixon's career, in Alsop's words, was the use of "specious and sleazy debating tricks."

"Consider a few of these debating tricks. There is the juxtaposition of words, as when Nixon, in 1952, in the course of accusing Truman and Stevenson of tolerating Communists in the government, called them 'traitors to the high principles of the Democratic Party.' In the context of those days when McCarthy rode high, the words 'traitor' and 'Democratic Party' were the words that remained in his hearers' minds.

"There is the use of the undeniable statement with a false implication. An example from the fund speech: 'Every penny of it was used to pay for political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the taxpayers of the United States.' In fact, the purpose of the fund was to meet expenses which *could not* be charged to the taxpayers of the United States.

"There is the trick of the coupling of categories, as in the 1954 campaign statement: 'We have driven the Communists, the fellow travelers, and the security risks out of government by thousands.' It is true that several thousand so-called 'security risks' were dropped in the early Eisenhower years to appease McCarthy. But Nixon failed to point out that the vast majority of these people were fired for reasons having nothing to do with subversion, that many of them were hired initially by the Eisenhower Administration itself, and that the total included not a single known Communist. Thus again, the implication of what he said was false."

In discussing these and other examples of Nixon's political techniques of smear and innuendo, Alsop notes that 1954 was a year of particularly flagrant behavior. "In that year," he writes, "Nixon came closest to justifying Walter Lippmann's description of him as a 'ruthless partisan . . . [who] does not have within his conscience those scruples which the country has the right to expect in the President of the United States.' "

Alsop cites a classic example of Nixon's technique which occurred in the spring of 1954 when in the course of a telecast defending the Administration's foreign policies, he made a famous aside. "Nixon looked up from his script and asked, as though on the spur of the moment: 'And incidentally, in mentioning Secretary Dulles, isn't it wonderful finally to have a Secretary of State who isn't taken in by the Communists?'

"Nixon didn't say that Dean G. Acheson and George Marshall were 'taken in by the Communists.' But he very clearly implied it, and the implication is grossly misleading. To make his implication, Nixon made use of both an essentially specious 'Communist issue' and a sleazy debater's trick, the rhetorical question. He asked his rhetorical question, moreover, not when he was a young Congressman . . . but when he had already been Vice-President of the United States for two years . . . That rhetorical question explains why, to some reasonable and fair-minded people, the case against Nixon is a convincing case."

Having quoted Alsop at such length, I must in fairness add that he deprecates the importance of this evidence in making his over-all assessment of the man, but the evidence he cites is nevertheless incontrovertible; each of us is entitled to make his own assessment of its significance.

Nixon Tries to Tidy Up For the Eastern King-Makers

One counter-argument adduced in Nixon's favor is that these "sleazy debating tricks" are only words and, after all, are not most politicians heated or somewhat careless in their use of words? The fact is, however, that a politician's words are his deeds. Unless a man has a record in executive office—which Nixon does not—his words, next to his votes in Congress, are the most important materials we have on which to base a judgment. Moreover, political men do not habitually use words lightly, or regard them as of no lasting importance. A reporter has only to misquote a politician slightly or criticize him mildly to arouse an extraordinarily outraged reaction. Most politicians most of the time value, or overvalue, what they say, choose their words with care, and have fairly clearly in mind what effects they hope to achieve by their words. Nixon's repeated use of reckless, inflammatory, and defaming language is not a series of momentary indiscretions; it is a considered procedure for which he must be held responsible.

A different argument often advanced in recent years in Nixon's behalf is that he has "matured." The "new Nixon," it is contended, is greatly changed from the "old Nixon." However, we cannot allow the matter to rest there. The question arises: why did he change? The change-over would be persuasive if his defenders could point to some single event or series of events that caused this beneficial transformation. They never do. The change is simply dated from the end of the 1954 campaign when his "white collar McCarthyism" failed to hold Congress for the Republicans. Or it is blandly suggested that with the passage of the years he has grown.

If anything would properly account for a dramatic change in a man's character and outlook, it would be a traumatic experience of some kind. In Nixon's case, the near-catastrophe of the "secret fund" disclosures leading up to his Checkers speech called in doubt his political methods and put his career in jeopardy. Yet patently it had no reforming effect. Two years later, he was back on the stump using the same tricks and techniques he had used before the trauma of the fund fight. Here certainly was no great divide in Nixon's career.

Another explanation is more logical. The new, smoother, more unctuous, more careful Nixon began to emerge only in the winter of 1955-56, after President Eisenhower's heart attack. Up until that time, Nixon had simply carried out the job for which he was chosen by the party managers in 1952: the job of hatchetman and handshaker for an Administration headed by a politically inexperienced general. Nixon's hope of future reward depended upon his doing that job well, and he did it the only way he knew. He was a slugger in what he himself called "rocking, socking campaigns" and, alternatively, he cut up his opponents by fast debating methods.

After Eisenhower's heart attack, Nixon, for the first time, realized in a palpable way that the Presidency might be within his own grasp. The one great danger was that he would be vetoed by the Eastern, internationalist faction which controls the Republican Party. This group repeatedly blocked the late Senator Robert A. Taft because it suspected his isolationist views. Nixon determined to pay court to the financiers and politicians who had successively nominated Willkie, Dewey, and Eisenhower. At that very time, these same men of power decided to "take up" Nixon as a protege and give him a close inspection. They were motivated principally by the consideration that their faction had no suitable candidate to replace Mr. Eisenhower. If Governor Nelson Rockefeller had captured the governorship of New York four years earlier, subsequent national political history might have been much different. But as it was in the winter of 1955-56, Nixon, if he proved satisfactory, was about the best available.

Nixon proved quite satisfactory. He had early begun to cultivate former Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who had been instrumental in selecting him as Eisenhower's running mate in 1952. Now he began to be drawn more fully into the inner circle of the "Dewey crowd" in New York. He attended several skull sessions arranged by Dewey to exchange views and hear expert briefings, particularly on foreign affairs. A close associate of Nixon in this development was William Rogers, later to become President Eisenhower's Attorney General in the second Administration. Rogers began his Washington career back in the 80th Congress of 1947-48 when he served as a Dewey contact man with the "wrong side" of the Republican Party, the isolationists and Midwestern conservatives. His formal job was as legal counsel for Senators Owen Brewster and Homer Ferguson, the fumble-and-stumble twins. Rogers was a talent spotter with an eye for bright young men. He soon met Nixon, introduced him to Dewey, and laid the basis of later events.

The result of Nixon's courting of the New York financiers and politicians and their extended period of "looking him over" was the emergence of the "new Nixon." The ambitious Vice President dropped his hatchet and began to impersonate a statesman. This is why he abruptly shifted in the 1956 campaign to a steady diet of bland, platitudinous speeches. This is why there was a new note of nebulous liberalism such as his rosy prediction of the early arrival of a four-day week and his announcement that he was a card-carrying member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The New Nixon, Like the Old, Is a Man Ever on the Make

It was all reminiscent of Dewey's own soporific 1948 campaign. This is also why Nixon in 1956 and 1957 became such an articulate missionary on behalf of foreign aid. He had voted for the Marshall Plan as a member of the House, but he had previously not been averse to making the standard Republican speech about "waste and extravagance" in foreign aid. Now he dropped all negative references. Nixon likes to point to these speeches as proof of the authenticity of his conviction because "there are no votes to be won defending foreign aid." There may be few votes to be won from ordinary voters, but Nixon was building credit with the people who counted if he was to get the Presidential nomination—the influential bankers, politicians, and publishers. If Paris was worth a Mass to Henry IV, the White House was worth a few unpopular speeches to Richard Nixon.

The truth is that the new Nixon,

like the old Nixon, has never sacrificed his interests to his convictions. He has kept his positions on issues sufficiently flexible to make them accord with his political needs. He would have been glad to be Taft's Vice President in 1952 if Taft had looked like a winner. He could defend doing nothing on civil rights in 1956 and defend the use of troops in Little Rock in 1957. He could be the cut-throat debater of 1954 and the sleepytime sandman of politics in 1956. The new Nixon, like the old Nixon, is fundamentally a man on the make. His commitment is to nothing larger or more impersonal than his own ambition. He is on fire with no ideal, dedicated to no great cause, champion of no enduring philosophy or consistent viewpoint.

* * *

There are numerous pieces of evidence that might be cited other than his disreputable campaign techniques and debating tricks. There are his years as a go-between for and accomplice of the McCarthyites when they rode high in the early Fifties. But let us limit ourselves to a single item: Nixon's lack of eloquence and literary skill. Nixon, commendably, drafts his own speeches in longhand. These speeches are never graced with a felicitous phrase, never illustrated with an interesting quotation or apt literary allusion, never charged with strong, passionate conviction. Nothing lifts them above the commonplace. They are invariably cagey, routine, and dull. One is reminded of the late MacKenzie King, the platitudinous prime minister of Canada, who once remonstrated with a speechwriter over some colorful line: "I cannot say that. It would be remembered."

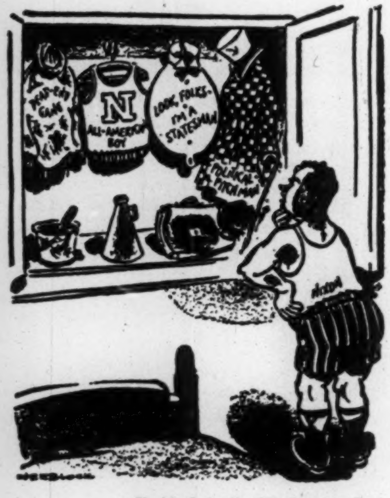
Here is a random sample of phrases from Nixon speeches and interviews: "All we need is a win complex . . . Lip-service Americans . . . Jefferson and Jackson would turn over in their graves . . . The same old Socialist baloney any way you slice it . . . You hear some yakkity-yakking that campaigns should be limited to ivory-tower, philosophical discussions of issues . . . A rocking, socking campaign . . . If that is the way the ball bounces."

These are not the words and phrases of a man fit to stand in Lincoln's place and bear witness to the American dream. This tired, banal language reflects the banal, shallow mind that produces it.

If Nixon's credentials as a moral leader and an eloquent spokesman are below the standard we have a right to expect Presidents to attain, his talents as a politician are rarely called in question. Yet here his native sagacity has been much overrated.

Two of the darkest marks on his record in the view of independent voters were his campaign speeches using the "softness on Communism" argument against Jerry Voorhis in 1946 and Mrs. Douglas in 1950. In both those years, the Democrats lost everywhere, and worst of all in California. Earl Warren, William Knowland, and many less well-known California Republicans won easy victories without using the so-called Communist issue. Nixon would have defeated Mrs. Douglas if he had not done much more than praise California's oranges and sunny climate. Even as a crass opportunistic device there was no need to smear her by dishonestly linking her with the late Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York, who fairly consistently followed the Communist Party line.

In 1951-52, Nixon collected a fund from his business backers to finance various political activities. This meant taking an enormous risk for a nominal gain. When the fund became widely known in the 1952 campaign, the uproar nearly knocked Nixon off the ticket. Was it worth risking the loss of the Vice Presidency to gain a few free trips to California and the cost of a few thousand Christmas cards?



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Let's See—What'll I Wear Today"

Nixon's enemies have often stigmatized him for his duplicity within the California delegation at the 1952 convention. Warren, then governor, was making his last bid for the Presidency. Although nominally pledged to support the governor, Nixon worked tirelessly to weaken Warren's hold and spread support for Eisenhower. What is often overlooked in accounting this little tale of inside politics is that it was, in terms of Nixon's own interests, extremely dangerous and wholly unnecessary. It was needless because the Eisenhower managers chose him as the Vice Presidential candidate for reasons having nothing to do with his power or lack of power to deliver the California delegation. It was dangerous conduct because it transformed Warren from an unsympathetic colleague into a sworn enemy. If Warren had wished, he could have kept Nixon off the Eisenhower ticket in 1952 by interposing his veto when the party managers "cleared" Nixon's name with him. Nixon is lucky that Warren is a magnanimous loser.

Another incident that raises questions about Nixon's political judgment occurred in the 1952 campaign when he made his famous speech magnifying Adlai Stevenson's remote, unimportant connection with the Alger Hiss case. Eisenhower's 6,600,000-vote majority showed Nixon's gratuitous assault on Stevenson's character was not necessary. The only purpose it served was to blacken Nixon's reputation with a great many independent voters.

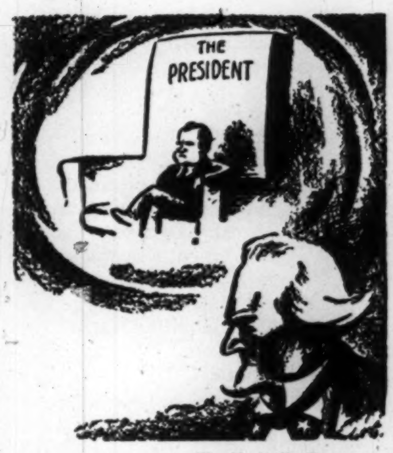
During the first two years of the Eisenhower Administration, Nixon busied himself as "the bridge" between Joe McCarthy and the Administration—a self-assigned mission. Nixon did not seem to realize any more than did the politically inexperienced Eisenhower that McCarthy could not be appeased or tamed or made a docile member of the team. From first to last, he misread McCarthy's character. The only result of Nixon's two years of futile and devious maneuverings was to get himself identified in the public mind with various ignominious deals and surrenders such as the "chicken lunch" between Army Secretary Stevens and McCarthy which Nixon arranged.

In the 1954 campaign, Nixon toured the mountain states where several Senate seats were at stake. He charged James Murray in Montana and Joseph O'Mahoney in Wyoming with being soft on Communism. Such an attack was patently ridiculous against men who are old-fashioned, Roman Catholic politicians with long public records. Not surprisingly, Nixon's tactics failed and both Democrats won. Nixon did even worse with his speeches in the next off-year campaign, in 1958, when he charged a Democratic victory would mean socialism and regimentation. One wag, after that campaign ended in Republican catastrophe, toted up the number of miles Nixon had traveled and the states he had visited and proved statistically that the more Nixon traveled the worse his party did and that the Republicans fared better in the areas he did not visit than in those he did.

* * *

From time to time there have been other incidents that make one doubt Nixon's much-vaunted prowess. The most famous of these was in February, 1956, when he foolishly dragged Earl Warren's nonpartisan office into a political speech, calling him "a great Republican Chief Justice." The roof practically fell in on Nixon as Republican newspapers joined in deploring this lapse of taste.

It was clever and it was dirty for Nixon to link Voorhis and Mrs. Douglas with the Communists, to distort Stevenson's connection with Hiss, to knife Warren at the convention, to play both ends against the middle on the McCarthy issue, and to claim partisan credit for the unanimous school desegregation decision of the Supreme Court by attributing it to a Republican Chief Justice. But leaving aside the cleverness which his friends admire and his enemies distrust, and leaving aside the dirtiness of these tactics which his friends rationalize and his enemies dwell upon, what about their practical political wisdom? Did they serve any useful purpose for Nixon? The answer is that they did not. He could have attained any of his immediate aims without using these methods and he would be surer of his own ultimate goal, the Presidency, if he had never used them. He demonstrated only that he is one of those individuals who is too clever by half to be wise. He demonstrated also that he does not have a moral governor controlling his political tactics and no large conception of his own interests. He is a mediocre politician playing it by ear and relying upon lack of scruple, quickness of mind, and ruthlessness to make up for the lack of any coherent philosophy or considered judgment.



The Nashville Tennessean

We Have to Face the Possibility

The truth about Nixon is that he is a manufactured politician. He is not a natural political animal. Observers always comment upon the coldness, the reserve, the controlled air. "I do have this aversion to going up to a stranger, or someone I don't know well, and asking for political support or a contribution," Nixon told one interviewer.

Nixon learned politics under the tutelage of Murray Chotiner, a Los Angeles lawyer and professional campaign manager. Chotiner outlined his techniques in September, 1955, to a private workshop for GOP state chairmen. The transcript of this speech quotes Chotiner as saying: "Like it or not, the American people in many instances vote against a candidate, against a party, or against an issue rather than for . . ."

Chotiner advised his audience to remember that "an attack is always a smear when it is directed against our own candidates."

He urged candidates to introduce the principal subject they wished to discuss by first informing their audiences they had been warned not to talk about it.

"You will be amazed at the popular response to such a method. In case after case [in his 1950 campaign] Dick Nixon told audiences, 'I have been advised not to talk about Communism, but I am going to tell the people of California the truth,'" Chotiner declared.

Nixon has followed Chotiner's precepts throughout his career. He epitomized them when he told Republican candidates for the House to answer every criticism with an attack: "If he asks you where you stand on Dulles, ask him where he stands on Acheson."

Nixon's practice of this negative theory that a candidate should attack rather than defend or advocate new programs has produced an important incidental benefit for him. He has managed to retain the appearance of a middle-of-the-road Republican when, in fact, his voting record on major domestic issues in his six years in Congress was indistinguishable from that of such celebrated Tories as John Bricker and William Jenner.

Nixon More Reactionary Than Senator Taft On Housing

Nixon voted for the Taft-Hartley law, for the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, against public power, and in favor of exempting railroads from anti-trust legislation. He was notably hostile to the Rural Electrification program. Although he voted for rural telephones in 1949, he voted to cut REA funds in 1947 and again in 1948, voted against funds for power development and transmission lines in the Missouri Valley and at Bonneville in 1947, for limiting the growth of the Southwest Power Administration in 1951, and against TVA expansion.

On housing, his record is extremely conservative. He cast one vote for renewal of rent control in 1951 during the Korean War and that one vote is repeatedly cited to show his "independence" from the real estate lobby. But in the years before and after 1951, he opposed rent control, voting for weakening amendments in 1949 and against extension of it in 1950 and 1952. These other votes are usually glossed over or not mentioned by those depicting him as a liberal or middle-of-the-roader. He voted against the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill in 1948 and again in 1949, when it passed. As a Senator, he was for cutting public housing units from 50,000 annually down to 5,000 in 1951 and against any public housing authorization at all in 1952. Nixon is usually depicted as a newer, more progressive Republican, but on all housing issues he was much more reactionary than was Senator Taft. This explains why he is sometimes called a "young fogey."

* * *

On social welfare legislation such as social security, minimum wages, and the school lunch program, Nixon occasionally voted for such measures on final passage because the battle is usually over when the final roll call comes. But on the votes on the crucial amendments, he repeatedly sided with the enemies of these welfare programs. In 1947, as a freshman in the 80th Congress, he supported the House Republican leadership in favoring a cut in the school lunch program of $30,000,000. The next year he voted against adding 750,000 workers to the social security program. In 1949, he voted for a particularly unfair amendment that successfully deprived 1,000,000 low-paid workers the protection of a 75-cent minimum wage. As a Congressman, Nixon at Congressional hearings and at Labor Department hearings in California participated actively on behalf of the big corporate farms that employ migratory Mexican laborers at low wages and sometimes under frightful conditions.

Nixon voted several times during his four years in the House and his two years in the Senate in favor of the tidelands oil giveaway, for abolition of federal regulation of natural gas prices, and against reduction of the 27.5 per cent oil depletion allowance.

On civil rights for Negroes and other minorities, Nixon has a mixed record. He voted for an anti-poll tax bill in 1949. In 1952, he joined with Taft in signing a minority report opposing a Fair Employment Practices Act with enforcement powers. But as Vice-President, he has used his authority as presiding officer of the Senate to assist in bringing liberal civil rights bills to a vote.

On some matters, Nixon's position has shifted with the pressures. He was vaguely for federal aid for school construction when the Eisenhower Administration was sponsoring such a bill but subsequently he went on record against federal aid to education when the President's interest in the matter waned. It was Nixon's vote that broke the tie and killed a major school aid bill early in the present session of Congress. And that vote against federal aid to education came less than a week after Nixon told a Republican dinner in Chicago that "inadequate classrooms, underpaid teachers, and flabby standards are weaknesses we must constantly strive to eliminate."

Nixon's tendency to swing back and forth on major issues shows up vividly in the field of foreign affairs. As a Senator, for example, he endorsed the old Bricker Amendment which would have undermined the President's constitutional authority on foreign policy, but as Vice-President he supported the Administration when President Eisenhower opposed the amendment.

He supported the Marshall Plan, but ducked a vote on Point Four appropriations. He seemed to favor the liberalized tariff program of reciprocal trade, but voted for crippling amendments. He seemed to be on both sides of American policy regarding Korea and Indo-China.

Thus, on August 31, 1953, speaking before the American Legion Convention in St. Louis, Nixon said that in his decision to halt Communist aggression in Korea, former President Truman was right and "deserves the credit for it. Let's recognize right now that the decision to go into Korea was right because the Communists had to be stopped." But a year later, in his 1954 election eve speech, he charged that the Truman Administration's "wrong policy" had "resulted in a war, a war in Korea that cost us 140,000 American boys as casualties."

Similarly, on April 16, 1954 speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, Nixon said: "If, to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indo-China, we must take the risk now by putting our boys in, I think the executive branch has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it, and I personally support such a position." A fortnight later, Nixon was quoted by the New York *Herald Tribune* as saying that the Administration must avoid sending American troops to fight in Indo-China or anywhere else "if we can." In later speeches, he praised the Administration for avoiding hostilities in Indo-China although he had told the newspaper editors that he personally supported intervention with American boys.

Perhaps the crispest analysis of this curious political behavior came from Richard H. Rovere, writing in *Harper's:*

"What stands out in any consideration of the whole record is the flexibility that suggests an almost total indifference to policy. Nixon appears to be a politician with an advertising man's approach to his work. Policies are products to be sold the public—this one today, that one tomorrow, depending on the discounts and the state of the market. He moves from intervention to anti-intervention with the same ease and lack of anguish with which a copywriter might transfer his loyalties from Camels to Chesterfields."

Nixon Is Concerned With Techniques More Than Issues

Nixon's voting record as a legislator ended, of course, when he became Vice President, but he has had seven opportunities to break ties during his incumbency as presiding officer of the Senate. The issues at stake involved major conflicts between the liberal and conservative blocs and dealt with significant controversies on federal aid to education, agriculture, veterans and organized labor. "In each case," the New York *Times* reported recently, Nixon "has reflected the Eisenhower Administration's policy against more liberal proposals sponsored by the Democrats."

Since he never talks about his own voting record, Nixon can easily offer a verbal commitment to Eisenhower Republicanism or any other kind of Republicanism that may be fashionable. He can link hands with liberal Senator Jacob Javits of New York and reactionary Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois. He could campaign for the disreputable Senator Joseph McCarthy in Wisconsin and for respected Senator Clifford Case in New Jersey.

Beyond the negativism and evasiveness, however, Nixon's hallmark as a politician is his preoccupation with the techniques and artifices of his craft. Having learned much from Chotiner, he has still the fascinated interest of a sorcerer's apprentice.

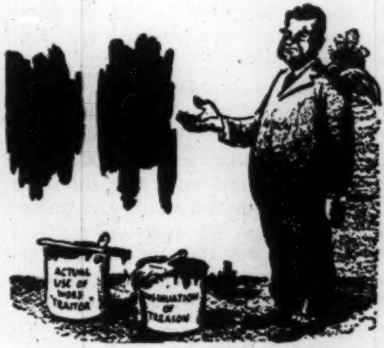
On September 14, 1955, the same month in which Chotiner was addressing the GOP campaign school, Nixon spoke to a meeting of the Radio and Television Executives Society in New York. The report in *Variety* was headed—"MEMO TO VEEPEE NIXON: 'WANT AN AGENCY JOB?' "

Nixon had been such a success in his talk that one advertising agency representative had jocularly offered him a vice-presidency.

Variety's account said: "Nixon showed the over 300 attending experts that he's as hep to the realities of good drama and to the theories . . . of successful time-buying as any of them. He gave about 30 minutes worth of advice on 'what a candidate should do to use this medium [television] effectively.'

"The disparity was taken to be slight between the way the No. 1 veep would have the advertising profession handle political candidates on video and the way advertising men already conduct campaigns for admittedly more commercial products . . . He advised use of saturation selling of candidates through one- and five-minute 'spots' as he called them because, he said, a 'great number of voters vote only names, not platforms.' "

Between insulting the informed voters by rebutting every argument with a diversionary attack and manipulating the uninformed voters by playing upon their emotions and their ignorance, Nixon betrays a notably cynical attitude toward the democratic process. But the point here is not the ethics of Nixon's political style, but what it reveals of his curiously detached and manipulative attitude toward political work. No politician caught up in the great issues and political projects of his time, whether he was conservative or liberal, would waste his time giving such a speech or even thinking of such matters. It is hard to imagine a natural politician, a Harry Truman or a Robert Taft, bothering himself with this kind of thing. This is the stuff of dilettantes and technicians, not of statesmen.


ACTUAL USE OF WORD 'TRAITOR'
INSINUATION OF TREASON

Herblock in the Washington Post

"See the Difference?"

The political tasks of a President are to keep control of his party's machinery in order to use it in behalf of his legislative program, rally public opinion behind his objectives, create unity on the great issues of war and peace that transcend party politics, and cooperate, if need be, with the opposition party. Nixon could be counted upon to keep control of his party's machinery. But for what purpose? Nothing in his political career indicates he has any national goals toward which he is working. His consciously acquired techniques and his experience have all been in beating down an opponent and not in rallying support for positive programs. He is such a partisan, such a divisive figure that he would find it difficult to organize national unity and enlist the cooperation of the Democrats. He has political skills, but they are not those of a national leader in times of recurring crises.

Nixon's record as an executive is a blank page. This tends to be true of any national politician who made his principal reputation in Congress. The difference is that Nixon has assiduously attempted to create the impression that he has acquired some useful executive experience during the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration. His apologists lay heavy stress on the fact that he has attended Cabinet and National Security Council meetings, but Vice-Presidents have been attending Cabinet meetings for forty years. Such attendance keeps a Vice-President informed, but by itself it provides no executive experience. Nixon attempted to get an executive post in 1957 when he sought the chairmanship of the Operations Coordinating Board, an obscure but fairly influential group which works at the secondary level of the Administration pulling together defense, foreign affairs, and propaganda. Eisenhower turned him down. The evidence from the Cabinet meetings reported by Robert Donovan in his book, *Eisenhower: The Inside Story,* clearly indicates, moreover, that Eisenhower consults Nixon and respects his opinion on strictly political matters but ignores him on questions of broad governmental policy, and has at times cut him short.

The two committees that Nixon has chaired are both paper outfits. He is chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth. The infrequent reports of this impressive-sounding committee are the occasion of much merriment among professional economists. The reports are thick with solemn affirmations of the obvious, such as: "Prices of industrial commodities have been rising in wholesale markets and this is usually followed by rises at retail."

Professor J. K. Galbraith of Harvard, writing in the February *Harper's,* analyzed the first three reports of this committee. He noted that Nixon ascribed inflation to two causes: "(1) the pressure for more public spending and (2) the implacable upward pressure of wages on prices."

Record Shows Nixon Achieved Nothing On Inflation Problem

Having verbally attacked inflation, Nixon began his list of remedies by telling what he would not recommend. He would not urge wage and price controls. But, Galbraith pointed out, "if wages and prices are untouchable, then nothing *directly* can be done about the wage-price spiral which both the President and Mr. Nixon hold to be a cause of inflation. And unless some substitute action can be effective, then inflation won't be controlled.

". . . Moreover, if prices reflect the power of the unions and the compensating action of the corporations, then government intervention does not have the damaging consequences that Mr. Nixon and his colleagues condemn. For then such intervention *doesn't* interfere with the reading of priorities and scarcities—the unions and the corporations have already spoiled that. What intervention does is substitute public regulation for what Mr. Nixon and his associates have condemned as bad private control by unions and companies."

As remedies, Nixon proposed a Congressional resolution making "reasonable price stability" a specific goal of federal policy, a curtailment of government spending, and permission to the Treasury to raise the rate of interest on long-term government bonds.

Galbraith and other economists quickly pointed out that price stability "has been a goal of federal policy for generations. It has been proclaimed repeatedly and, with passion. The new resolution . . . would give the Administration no power it does not now possess."

The suggestion for curtailed government expenditure, the Harvard economist observed, "runs into the familiar problem that some of the things for which higher expenditures have been sought—schools, housing, defense, law enforcement, conservation—are rather urgent. To this Mr. Nixon is indifferent. He describes the pressures for increased spending as 'irresponsible.'

". . . More important still, while a budget deficit when the economy is operating at capacity can certainly be a cause of inflation, to balance the budget does not cure the inflation. That is because balancing the budget will not arrest the wage-price spiral. Mr. Nixon, though he blames the spiral, makes no claim that budget-balancing would stop it."

Nixon's third recommendation, for an increase in interest rates, "represents a continuation of the [high interest rate] policy he was asked to improve."

Galbraith concluded: "The judgment to be rendered seems to me clear. Mr. Nixon has done nothing. Nor in seeking to persuade us that he *has* done something does he show a high regard for intelligence."

Nixon is also chairman of the President's commission on non-discrimination in government contracts. This group provides Nixon with a useful sounding board for speeches about what he has done for the Negro. The commission, in fact, has accomplished very little. Cases move through its toils at a leisurely pace, often taking three or four years and not getting anywhere.

The business about being "the best-trained Vice-President in history" is a myth. The speech-making, traveling, hand-shaking, and paper-shuffling Nixon has done for more than seven years provide no clues as to what kind of chief executive he would be.

Opinions on Foreign Affairs Follow No Clear Pattern

The most crucial area of a modern President's responsibilities is that of foreign affairs. The country could stand any number of mistakes and regressive policies in the management of its domestic affairs. What it might not survive would be a President with bad judgment and erratic instincts in foreign policy. To elect a man to the Presidency is to cast a vote of confidence in his character. It is here that Richard Nixon poses the greatest difficulty. There is little in his demeanor and his public record to inspire confidence and much to provoke anxiety.

It is awkward to question a man's character because we will never know for certain what kind of a President Nixon would make unless he becomes President. There are those who are cheerily optimistic that he would grow in the job. They belong to what I call the "reform school theory" of the Presidency. The White House is hardly a training school where political delinquents are made into statesmen by the magic of their surroundings.

There are grounds for deep concern. A politician so reactionary as Nixon on domestic economic issues cannot convincingly portray himself abroad as the liberal champion of the oppressed and underprivileged. The ease with which demonstrations were whipped up against him in his disastrous tour of Latin America proves how hard it is to wear one face at home and another abroad.

Nixon has a weakness for heroics and theatrical gestures. He is also a man of violent passions beneath that tightly controlled exterior. It was purely a play to the galleries, for example, for Nixon to visit Caracas and plunge into the howling mob after his previous narrow escape in Lima and the repeated warnings of danger. Nixon is also enamored of the idea that words are a substitute for policy. His stated opinions on foreign affairs follow no clear pattern, now bristling with threats of massive retaliation, then later enthusiastically endorsing friendly talks with the Russians. In 1953, Nixon boasted that the Administration had extricated the country from the land war in Korea but the following year he came out in favor of involving our forces in an-

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other land war on the continent of Asia if it was necessary to save Indo-China.

Preoccupation with appearances is a weakness Nixon has sometimes indulged to fantastic extremes. The most extraordinary of these episodes occurred in August, 1955 when President Eisenhower returned from the Geneva summit conferences. His plane landed in Washington during a driving rainstorm. Nixon and all top officials were on hand to greet him. Most had umbrellas but at Nixon's request they did not open them. He feared the unfortunate symbolism of the umbrella which had been Neville Chamberlain's trademark when he met another dictator seventeen years earlier at Munich.

In describing the kind of President America needs, Nixon in January 1960 said: "The American people and the free world need in the Presidency a man who has judgment, a man who in a crisis will be cool, a man who won't go off half-cocked and give an appearance of leadership when, actually, his speaking out might be disastrous to the whole world."

Ironically, Nixon in this passage summed up several of the reasons why the country cannot risk putting him in the White House. He is intelligent enough. He is industrious enough. What is in grave doubt is his judgment, his inner calmness, his self-confidence. He has always been preoccupied with the "appearance of leadership" rather than leadership itself. He has repeatedly said foolish and demagogic words that are bad enough coming from a Senator or a Vice President but would be disastrous coming from a President. He is frequently going off rashly and half-cocked, whether to libel a political opponent, put American troops into a ground war in Indo-China, drag the Chief Justice into partisan politics, plunge himself into a mob in Caracas, or charge some innocent State Department employe with "undercutting" the Administration. No one could feel safe if the hydrogen bomb were in such imprudent hands.

The Presidency is a place for greatness. Richard Nixon's soiled record as a campaigner, his reactionary views as a domestic legislator, and his evasive, opportunist, and self-contradictory record in foreign affairs disqualify him. Ambition alone is not enough.

The Faith of a Liberal

by Hubert Humphrey

THE ISSUES for the 1960 political campaign must be the great issues which confront America in the Sixties. We cannot afford to take a shorter view, because we must live throughout this decade with the consequences of the decisions we make this year.

For too many years, America has marked time in a rapidly changing world. The Russia of today is vastly different from the Russia of Stalin. Communist China poses new challenges both to free nations and to Russian leadership of the Communist bloc. A multitude of new nations are finding their place in the world community. A more united Europe is arising from the rubble of old battlefields. Meanwhile, we Americans, heirs to the most dynamic tradition in history, seem—after the nightmare of McCarthyism—to have fallen into a deep and almost dreamless slumber.

We can no longer risk sleepwalking into the future. The bugles must be blown, and the giant awakened. If that means being controversial, we liberals should welcome it. It is only through vigorous and far-ranging debate that we can hammer out new policies for the new decade, and rally the people's support for them.

The Democratic Party has obtained the allegiance of a majority of Americans in this century only when it has been both controversial and liberal. We win national elections only when great issues are propounded by a Wilson and a Roosevelt and a Truman; we lose them when they are muted by an Alton B. Parker or a John W. Davis. The overriding political issue today is whether conservative or middle-of-the-road government — which knows cost but not values, which understands things but not people—can meet the challenges of the Sixties.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, United States Senator from Minnesota, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President.

I hold that only liberal government—dedicated to economic growth, human dignity, and a just and enduring peace—can bring America back from the brink of being a second-class world power to the front rank of world leadership. The American people will respond if the great issues of progress, people, and peace are brought home to them. Our task is not to change the image of the Democratic Party to satisfy an alleged complacency on the part of the American people; rather it is to arouse the people to a realization that only a liberal America can be happy and secure in the days ahead.

Progress and growth on the economic front are vital both to our defense and to our well-being. Inflation and recession—the fevers and chills between which our economy enjoys only intermittent spells of normal health and growth—need not be inevitable. They are not, as some early economists maintained, the consequence of natural causes; they are built-in defects in a man-made system. What we have made, we are surely capable of making better.

We have to find ways of maintaining full employment in an ever-expanding economy and, at the same time, preventing inflation. This will require, in the first place, that we *plan* what we want to do—so that we make our fabulously productive economy our servant and not our master. We must stop thinking of "planning" as a dirty word, and accept it as the necessary application of the best available human intelligence and foresight to the solution of national problems. It is high time we took planning out of the doghouse and put it into the White House.

We must recognize that our most powerful and effective instruments of economic national policy are not the control of credit and interest (although this has its uses—and abuses, as in the Administration's "tight money" policy) but *the tax system and the national budget.*

* * *

It is through the budget that we can give vital national purposes the high priority they should have in the allocation of our national resources. Through it, also, we strike a balance between public and private investment and between private and social consumption.

The tax system provides the balance wheel in our economy, restraining it when inflation threatens and stimulating it in depression. However, it is in urgent need of reform so that it will be more equitable at *any* level of revenue—particularly by closing loopholes through which billions of dollars escape. The most notorious of these loopholes is the mineral depletion allowance, which leaves a great part of oil income tax-free. Others include the failure to withhold taxes on dividends and interest and the preferential treatment of dividend income, which is taxed at a lower rate than are wages and salaries. Ending these glaring inequities would net the government billions of added revenue without changing tax rates.

Unlike the Marxists, we profess to reject the straitjacket of dogma—but we are self-imprisoned by what Walter Lippmann has justly called "The dogma that defense and public improvements must be tailored in order to balance the budget at the 1954 level of taxation." Yet a rapidly-expanding, full employment economy, *with tax loopholes closed,* could provide all the revenues necessary for defense, aid to education, and other social welfare needs.

I am not proposing a "regimented" economy—far from it. Our free enterprise system has yielded a standard of living such as no other peoples have ever enjoyed, and no one in his right mind would propose substituting bureaucratic controls for the workings of the market economy.

I am simply stating that we should not let the market make the key decisions of public policy. Only the government, responsible to the electorate, should have and exercise this right. If we are ever driven to admit that a free people cannot plan to secure their common defense and to promote their general welfare, we shall indeed have wandered into a trackless wilderness.

The general welfare, as I understand it, comprehends not only the community as a whole but all of its members. We cannot claim that welfare is general when it stops short of the seventh of our people who are submerged in poverty. So, as our economy grows, we must take positive steps to channel a fairer share of its benefits to the aged, the sick, and those marooned in economically depressed or "automated" areas and industries.

We must recognize that the great beginnings in social and economic security achieved by the New Deal were only beginnings, and that this generation has the urgent responsibility of perfecting existing tools and forging new ones to wipe out poverty in America.

Our unemployment compensation system should provide more adequate benefits—at least one half of wages, as originally intended in the Social Security Act—and it should cover longer periods of unemployment. The most effective way to accomplish this is through federal minimum standards applicable to all states. Our old-age insurance system should provide benefits more nearly adequate to the needs of retired workers and their wives, and should, moreover, include insurance against the costly medical expenses of older people. Our public assistance system needs modernization, so that grants are enough to permit people in need to live at a minimum standard of decency. Some way should be found, through food stamp plans or otherwise, to use our more-than-adequate food supplies to provide enough to eat for all people, no matter how low their incomes.

The general welfare also requires that the benefits of technological progress be promptly and widely shared. The industrial workers have fared well on the whole, because they have built unions strong enough to win for their members a fair share in these gains. In serving their own members, the unions have also served the general welfare, by broadening and deepening the basis of mass purchasing power upon which our economy rests. But for this, our top-heavy economy might long since have tumbled into depression.

This is a fact which the present Administration, blinded by the wrong-doing of a minority of union leaders in a minority of unions, seems utterly unable to grasp. There was, for instance, not even a hint of appreciation for the services of free unions to a free society in the nationwide telecast of President Eisenhower which caused the House of Representatives to adopt the "Eisenhower-Landrum-Griffin" bill last summer, and drove the full Congress to accept a bill which included harsh, unnecessary provisions with needed reforms. The bonding, "no-man's-land," picketing, boycott, and related provisions of last year's labor bill should be debated and amended as soon as the punitive nature of these provisions is brought home to the people, and through them, to the Congress.

* * *

It is the misfortune of our farmers—truly America's forgotten men—that they have not been able to organize effectively in their economic defense. As a result, the only reward for the spectacular increase in their productivity (about six per cent a year!) has been a disastrous decline in their incomes. Coming from a great agricultural state, I am particularly conscious that no group in the American economy has suffered so much from the stubborn stupidity and dogmatic short-sightedness of this Republican Administration.

We need to build a creative farm policy on these firm foundations:

¶ The determination of fair prices for farm commodities and a fair income standard for farmers.

¶ Production goals set so as to satisfy the true needs of the American people, the commercial export market, necessary reserves, and foreign policy purposes.

¶ An adequate agricultural resources program.

¶ Employment goals which afford farm families the opportunity to be fully and usefully employed.

¶ A "Food-for-Peace" program that will make our farm resources an asset for peace rather than an economic albatross.

* * *

If we need planning now—and we do—we shall need it even more when, as I devoutly hope, effective and enforced disarmament is achieved. We need not, if we are wise, fear that the outbreak of peace will bring an economic holocaust. The National Planning Association—in whose deliberations business, labor, and farm leaders achieve a fruitful merger of minds—has recently published its expert views on this question.

NPA estimates that some $25 billion a year may be released in the first five years of disarmament, and cites facts and figures to show how this slack may be taken up. It suggests $10 billion a year toward the mounting deficit in our public investment program—schools, highways, urban renewal, water supply, hospitals, action against air pollution, and the other vital public services which have been starved of funds while the chromium-plated private sector of our economy has flourished.

NPA envisages more adequate aid to the developing countries—and it is worth noting that both the United States and the Soviet Union have pledged themselves, when disarmament is achieved, to launch an international crusade to banish poverty from the earth. And it calculates that substantial sums will still be available to boost our own standards of living.

To the question, "Can the American economy adjust to arms reduction?" I answer a confident and determined "Yes!"—but with an important proviso, which I quote from the NPA study:

"This reasoning should not be interpreted, however, as suggesting that the transition from an armament race to disarmament would be an easy matter . . . Our estimates imply shifts of production from one industry to other industries, often also from one region to another, with all the ensuing problems of readjustment. These shifts will not come about easily. We need a careful exploration of the areas in which high-priority government programs could take the place of defense procurement and defense employment. There should be advance planning in each of the crucial areas in order to prevent hardship and serious dislocations."

There should be advance planning. I repeat and emphasize these words. The human species must be wise enough to plan, if we are to avoid being buried under our own abundance, as ancient civilizations were under their debris.

Just as important as a healthy and expanding economy is the achievement of full human dignity for every American. The way we treat one another is more expressive of the reality of our democratic commitment than any words, however eloquent.

We need what we have still not heard, after almost six long years—a clear affirmation from the White House itself of the moral rightness of the Supreme Court's historic decision against segregated schools. And we need on the part of both the executive and the legislative branches of our government a willingness to take their full share of responsibility for putting this historic decision into full force and effect.

In particular, I believe that—as Senator Paul H. Douglas has proposed—technical and financial aid should be made available to those communities throughout the South which are prepared to face up to compliance with the law of the land. They should have the full benefit of the experience of school districts, large and small, which have achieved integration or made a serious beginning toward doing so. Where compliance with the Supreme Court decision still is not forthcoming, the Attorney General must be given power (as in Part III, deleted from the 1957 Civil Rights Act) to bring suit to enforce constitutional rights.

We need to assure to *all* of our citizens the first right of their citizenship—the right to vote. The decisions of our federal government affect the welfare, the property, and even the lives of all of us. Yet, through local prejudice and custom, a substantial number of our people are deprived of any voice in these decisions. I therefore wholeheartedly support proposals for federal registration, where necessary, so that men and women can, freely and without fear, qualify to cast their ballots.

There is other urgent, unfinished business requiring our attention. We must open up the way to employment and promotion for everyone on the basis of ability, without regard to race, creed, or color. We must get the federal government out of the sordid business of subsidizing discrimination through its mortgage, loan-guarantee, and urban renewal policies—and into the promotion of open-occupancy housing. We must give everyone assurance that his right to be secure against personal violence and indignity will, always and everywhere, be protected by government.

In fact, we need action on civil rights all along the line. Neither in human decency nor in national interest can we afford the indefinite postponement of the full functioning of democracy. Within the next few years, virtually all the non-white peoples of the world will have obtained their full civil rights. We must keep step with the march of mankind—or forfeit its respect.

The more the facts about integration, where it has been substantially achieved—notably in our capital city of Washington—become widely available, the less excuse there will be for dreading it as a leap into the unknown. Knowledge casts out fear—and the facts demonstrate that integration does not demean our cherished ways of life, but rather enriches them with new dimensions of human understanding.

* * *

Overshadowing all our domestic concerns, of course, is the great question of the means of establishing peace with justice. I say "the means" because I do not for one moment recognize peace itself as an issue between our major parties. There is no "war party," since all Americans deeply long for peace. What we need to discuss—with all the sobriety and sincerity it deserves—is how to attain it.

I welcome our commitment to a series of summit meetings with the Soviet leaders. Both sides have ventured forth from the Maginot lines of implacable suspicion and hostility which they had erected against one another. We face a period of movement and maneuver, with world-wide diplomatic, political, economic, and ideological dimensions.

The dangers are obvious. It would be folly to let Soviet wiles and smiles seduce us from the all-essential task of maintaining adequate military strength until effective disarmament is achieved. It would be lunacy to permit divisions among the free nations further to erode the degree of unity which they have so painfully attained.

* * *

We must come to the conference table fully equipped to deal with the toughest and most determined negotiators American statesmen have ever faced. Good intentions are not enough. We need to know our case forwards and backwards, and know precisely where we can compromise, and where, for the survival and growth of freedom, we must stand firm.

We need to know what we ourselves want. Too often American negotiators have been undermined by divisions within our own government. Too often the State Department, the Pentagon, and the Atomic Energy Commission have battled among themselves like feuding principalities before and even during vital negotiations. I welcome, therefore, the proposal by the Democratic Advisory Council of a National Peace Agency to give shape and continuity to American policy. And I would welcome even more an Administration which was providing the kind of dynamic leadership at home and abroad which would make the Soviet leaders sit up and take notice.

Assuming, as I do, that the Soviet leaders are prudent and intelligent men as well as dedicated Communists, I believe that there are areas of mutual interest upon which we can build agreement. We have, above all, an urgent mutual interest in avoiding mutual and total destruction. Therefore I believe that through patient and hard-headed negotiation we can, in the field of disarmament, make a significant breakthrough toward peace.

In addition to the most immediate task of pressing forward with the current negotiations for a test ban, we should put forward three further major proposals:

¶ The control and reduction in numbers of long-range missiles and bombers, and the exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes only.

¶ The cessation of nuclear weapons production.

¶ Multi-nation systems to guard against surprise attack, including the removal of national troops from East-West border lands, and the creation of demilitarized zones.

This last technique is particularly worthy of exploration in those crucial areas of the world—Europe, the Middle East, and the Formosa Straits—where Communist and non-Communist powers are in close and dangerous contact, and where the slightest spark may lead to an explosion. As we develop experience with this technique, it might be applied to one region after another, with the United Nations moving in with observation teams—"the eyes and ears for peace"—and eventually, I hope, with a genuine United Nations police force.

The Communist government of China would, of course, have to be securely bound by any arms control system that would give effective protection. It may take the combined efforts of the Soviet Union, the United States, and all the nations of Asia to impress upon the Peking regime—still brashly aggressive—the need to become a responsible member of the international community. No greater proof could be given by the Soviet Union of its peaceful intentions than its cooperation in this effort.

There are other fruitful ways in which we can work with the Soviet Union—for example, on human problems such as poverty, sickness, and illiteracy, which transcend all ideologies and frontiers. There is a pressing need for a world-wide dedication to "the works of peace."

As new centers of power arise, the present bi-polar division of the world may fade into history. More and more, the United Nations must be the forum in which all of us work together to reconcile conflicts and establish peace.

The United Nations will not, like some miracle of automation, produce peace without the sincere efforts of its member nations. But, if all of us bring to it our wisest and most far-seeing statesmanship, we can get out of it much more than we put in. Our national efforts are mightily reinforced as they draw upon the great resources of this world organization—not the least of which is the fine intelligence and tireless dedication of its Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold.

To take the initiative is more difficult and more demanding than to brood, paralyzed with fear, upon our H-bombs. It requires imagination—for, as Franklin D. Roosevelt cogently observed, there is only one way of standing still, but many ways of going forward. It requires effort and even sacrifice, for as Thomas Paine warned us, "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

* * *

I think it helps us all gain perspective if we can only see ourselves as others see us, and I know of no more informed and unbiased observers than the correspondents in America of some of the great foreign newspapers. Lately I have been asking them what they assessed as the total significance of the words and actions of Nikita Khrushchev during his visit to America. They expressed it in many different ways, but it all came to the same thing—and one of them wrapped it up in three words:

"Wake up, America!"

Throughout our history, it has been the function of liberal Administrations to arouse our nation to the all-out effort of which it is capable. If we continue to doze through another decade, we shall indeed be inviting Khrushchev's services, which he so frankly offered, as our undertaker. He has made our choice a starkly simple one—to be great, or to be second-rate. I am profoundly confident that, in their wisdom, the American people will this year choose the path of greatness.

The Two Worlds—II

Who Fights for Freedom?

by MILTON MAYER

This is the second of a series of articles by Mr. Mayer based on his recently concluded year and a half of living and traveling on both sides of the curtain in Europe. The concluding installment of the series, "Who Doesn't *Fight for Freedom?" will appear in the April issue of* The Progressive. *A regular contributor to this magazine, Mr. Mayer has also written for many other publications including* The Reporter, Life, Harper's, Fellowship, Commonweal *and the* Saturday Evening Post.—The Editors.

"WHO DONE IT?" I asked.

"I beg your pardon?" said my friend. My friend was a Hungarian. We were in Hungary.

"Who uprose in the uprising? Who *were* the Freedom Fighters?"

"Ah, yes," said my friend, "the Freedom Fighters. We have heard about them. I know what you mean. But it is not a simple answer. Hungarian answers are never simple. But you know about the Hungarians."

"Let me tell you about them," I said, and I told him my three definitions of a Hungarian. The first is Molnar's: If you have a Hungarian for a friend, you don't need an enemy. The second is I don't know whose: A Hungarian is the only man who goes into a revolving door behind you and comes out ahead of you. The third is not strictly a definition, but a Hungarian recipe for baking a cake. It begins: "Steal three eggs . . ."

Hungarians and Poles are the only people left any more who think that everything is funny; that's why Communism has a hard time in those two countries and Fascism an easy. The two peoples who think that nothing is funny, on the other hand, make the best capitalists: the Swiss and the Swedes. My Hungarian friend thought that my three definitions were funny.

"Have another cognac," he said, "and I'll tell you who the Freedom Fighters were." I looked at my watch. It was 8:45 a.m.

"You know," I said, "this custom of cognac after breakfast—"

"I know," he said.

"In Switzerland," I said, "a Christian is a man who doesn't drink."

"In Hungary," said my friend, a Calvinist pastor, "a man who doesn't drink is a Communist. Have another."

"But I'm not a drinking man," I said.

"Then you're a Communist," said my friend, and he poured. The trouble with the Hungarians—my trouble with them—is that every cognac is a toast. You can't take a sip for the sake of politeness and put your glass down and leave it; you have to drain it or your toast is suspect. I drained it.

"Now," said my friend, pouring again, "I'll tell you what I know. It isn't much."

"Yes," I said.

"The Freedom Fighters were—one may say 'are'—what you English call a mixed bag. And the time of the uprising was what you Americans call a free-for-all. Do I make myself clear? Good!" (I hadn't said he did.) "I continue," he said, and he continued.

"There were three major elements. The first was the split in the Hungarian Communist Party. This happened also in Poland and, of course, in Yugoslavia much earlier. It was analogous to the Stalinist-Trotskyite split in Russia in the Twenties. There the Stalinists, the nationalists, won and the international revolutionary movement failed, in Germany, China, everywhere. That was long ago.

"Since the last war the Communist doctrine is Trotskyite again, internationalist. Of course nobody mentions Trostky. In practice international Communism means subservience to the U.S.S.R., just as international anti-Communism means subservience to the U.S.A. Don't you think?" I think, I said.

"The nationalist Communists are called Titoists now. The Titoist split in Hungary meant, of course, a split with Russia. But this was different from Poland and Yugoslavia. They were 'liberated' countries. We were an occupied country, occupied by the victorious enemy in the last war. And we had been a Fascist country and the spearhead of Hitler's attack on Russia. This is important—completely important—though Americans may sometimes forget it. Russians don't." I wrote down "completely important," so as not to forget it.

* * *

"It was Titoism that put Imre Nagy in power in the uprising of '56," my friend went on.

"In America," I said, "we think that the revolt was anti-Communist," and I showed him a New York *Times* editorial that called it exactly that. My friend looked at it and shook his head and said, "Dear me." "Nagy," he went on, "was of course a Communist and an ardent Communist. He lived as a Communist, he took power as a Communist, he called his opponents betrayers of Communism, and he died as a Communist." He looked at the *Times* editorial again and shook his head again and said, "Dear me."

Then he went on: "So first there were the Titoists, nationalist anti-Russian Communists in a country which the Russians do not love. Then there was the second element, the student movement, in the Technical High School in Budapest. Like all student movements—I think you do not have them in America—this was nationalist. Purely nationalist. Hungarian nationalism is fierce—but you know our Magyar history with the Turks and the Hapsburgs." I said I did.

"But pure nationalist movements are not likely to be leftist," he said. "They are much more likely to be rightist. Nationalism by itself responds to rightist sentiments and evokes them; that you know." I said I did. "So the student movement was basically at odds with the Titoists, except for the nationalism."

"It isn't so simple, at that," I said.

"Oh," said my friend, "that part of it is still simple. It gets more complicated with the third element in the uprising. This was Horthyism, the still very strong remnants of the Fascist Cross and Arrow. The Horthyites had been underground for only ten years. They ruled our country actually since 1919. Hungary was the first true Nazi country. This you must remember." I said I would.

"And these were the people who hated the Communists the most and the Russians the most. But the situation was complicated because the Fascist Horthyites were intensely nationalistic, and so were Titoist Communists. So the Horthyites came out of their holes—and the Titoists let them out of the prisons—to help the common nationalist cause against the Russians. It was a dangerous game, to open the Horthyite box; fatal, because in the end—"

"I know about the end," I said.

"So there were the three major elements," said my friend, "with only nationalism in common. And in all the confusion and the new 'liberty'—it lasted for many weeks afterward, actually—purely criminal elements were loose among the patriots and in very large numbers. The old Horthyite anti-Semitism blazed up across the country, especially in the east. Jews were beaten and robbed and murdered. In Debrecen the rabbis east of the Theiss took refuge in the Reformed Seminary."

"We didn't hear much about the Fascists and the criminals and the anti-Semites," I said.

"No," said my friend, "I suppose you wouldn't, in newspapers like the one you showed me. But these were the true anti-Communists in the 'anti-Communist revolt.' "

"Were there," I said, "no genuine fighters for genuine freedom—for human freedom, not just national independence?"

"Of course there were," said my friend, "but not very many. There never are, are there? Perhaps in your country. But here in Hungary—" He shrugged. "If by human freedom you mean political and civil freedom for the individual, this we have never had in Hungary in our whole thousand years. Right up until 1945 we have had only feudalism and monarchism struggling for power, and finally Fascism. Even modified serfdom remained. We never had a general election. For four months at the end of the first war the democratic government of Count Karolyi endured, but even this without any election. To fight for freedom—well," and he lifted his glass and said, "To freedom!"

It was 9 a.m. Three cognacs since breakfast.

* * *

Who fights for freedom? Anywhere?

I don't. You don't. We don't. We fight for advantage and for safety and for comfort and for national independence. But when it comes to fighting for freedom, we have to be conscripted. The draft board puts a gun to our heads and says, "You want to fight for freedom, don't you, bub?" And what a scramble there is among our freedom-fighters then, to do their fighting from a swivel chair.

Who fights for freedom here, where we have it, some of us, in great measure, and where the penalty for fighting for it is mild? Right here, where the battlefield is so much more readily accessible than Moscow? Or down the street in Mississippi, where the war for freedom is hottest and a federal grand jury refuses to indict the lynchers of a Negro named Mack Parker.

I know one man—count 'em, one—who grabbed a gun and fought for freedom in the last war. He enlisted, and he didn't enlist in the Navy or the Air Force to escape the infantry. And he didn't enlist as a general, or as a colonel, or as a lieutenant. He enlisted as a private because he wanted to fight—with his teeth and his claws—for freedom. And he had to fight first to get in because he was over-age. You may have heard of him: Paul Howard Douglas, wrong-headed, stout-hearted Senator Douglas.

Who, besides a Paul Douglas here or there, with or without a gun, fights for freedom? Who throws, not his vote or his Fourth of July oration, but his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor into the fight for freedom? Who prizes it—not just praises it, but prizes it? Who uses it when he has it? Who really wants it so that he and everyone else can do something with it that could not be done without it, something besides marching around the Legion Hall in lockstep singing its battle-hymn?

If our present government were an outright dictatorship and demanded nothing more of us than our money and the anti-Communist conformity it now demands, who would rise up, or uprise, against it?

I wouldn't.

You wouldn't.

We wouldn't.

And they wouldn't. And didn't. And won't. There less than here, where there has been a school of freedom in periods past. What do the Freedom Fighters come here for? For freedom? Do they fight for it when they get here and they see that it needs fighting for? My Hungarian friend asked me that: "What do they do in America, the Freedom Fighters who left Hungary in '56?" They join our fight against Communism lustily, but so, too, do the Fascists. (*They* fought it first.) But what are they fighting *for?* What are we fighting for? Our current birthright—and their current admission ticket—requires only that they and we fight *against*.

And what do you think of the fellow at the races who said, "You can't beat a horse with no horse"?

* * *

"How many of them," I said to the man in West Berlin, "are real refugees?"

"Why," said the man, whose business is refugees, "all of them."

"All of them?"

"Certainly."

"From what?"

"That's different," said the man. "From many different things. But that wasn't what you asked me."

"That's what I'm asking you now," I said.

"Well," said the man, "there are three categories that really comprise them all. But they are all lovers of liberty."

"Ah," said I, "Freedom Fighters."

"I didn't say that," said the man. "I said lovers of liberty. If they wanted to fight for freedom, they could stay in East Germany and fight. No; lovers of liberty. But there are different kinds of liberty. You know that." I said I did.

* * *

"There are people who love national liberty, national independence. They can stand being governed tyrannically, but they can't stand being governed tyrannically by a foreign power. There are some of those in East Germany. Probably a good majority hate Russian control—and don't forget that Germany is the defeated country (or part of it) that attacked Russia.

"So there are those who love national liberty. Some of them come over. Not many; most East Germans, though they hate Russian control, do not regard West Germany as more *German* than East. Besides, they are no longer treated here as long-lost brethren; the Cold War has finished off that sentiment.

"In the category of liberty-lovers are also the lovers of economic liberty, the true bourgeois. Middle class, mostly, Entrepreneurs. Those who come over are either unreconstructable by Communism, and therefore past middle age, and therefore not very many, or the younger natural born 'hustler' type we once knew so well in America. The man who wants to work for himself and get rich and believes that he can—and knows that under Communism he can't.

"There are many more of these than there are of the older unreconstructables. And still more of those who believe that they can make more money as employes in the West than in the East. And they can, if they can get a job. It's their taking a chance on getting a job that identifies them with our 'bourgeois' type."

"Uh-huh," said I.

"Now," said the man, "we come to the third category. In this one is X per cent of all those who come over. They are the people who want to lose themselves. Never in modern history has there been an opportunity for them like this. If you are a wife-beater or pick-pocket or horse-thief in West Germany, and you are on the lam, you grab the trolley to the land of liberty—East Germany. And vice versa.

"We are getting some of each other's best people—and all of each other's worst. And the flow from East to West is much the larger in this category, partly because police control is much tighter in East Germany and partly because they are still looking for Nazis there—and not for the purpose of giving them government jobs, either.

"Once a man makes it across—and this is very easy, as you know—he is safe from identification. If he explains that the bestial Communists took his identity card away from him because he was an anti-Communist, this in itself is almost a preferential credential in the West. And again vice versa."

"How large is this X per cent?"

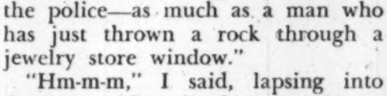
"We shall never know," said the man. "Never. All we know is that nobody loves liberty—liberty from the police—as much as a man who has just thrown a rock through a jewelry store window."

"Hm-m-m," I said, lapsing into German, although the man I was talking to was an American. (The German for "Hm-m-m" is *"Ja, was,"* with the accent on the *was.)*

"There, then," said the man, "you have your three categories. But there is an important sub-category of the bourgeois. This is the man who loves the liberty to go it alone ideologically (or just politically) or intellectually or artistically or morally. Not necessarily alone, but in dissent from the prevailing pattern."

"Ah," said I, "the true lover of liberty at last."

"I didn't say that," said the man. "On the contrary, he may be a Fascist, although not necessarily. In any case, the Communist dictatorship is not for him. The place for him is in the state which, as Plato says, is 'simply bursting with liberty.' You've heard of Plato?" I said yes.



"This is the person," said the man, "whose individual attitudes do not correspond to those of the society he happens to be in. The nearest thing to Plato's state for him, if he's in East Germany, is West Germany; not very near, but the nearest. There are X per cent of those."

"X?" said I.

"X," said the man.

"And these are not to be confused with the true lover of liberty—the lover of liberty pure?"

"You know better than to ask me that," said the man, and I blushed for shame.

"The lover of liberty pure," the man went on, "the fighter not for his own freedom or for national independence, but for freedom itself—he is not numerous in Germany. You see, my ignorant friend, these people who flee to the Free World, abandoning all their ties, leaving everything behind them, and sometimes risking their liberty and even their lives to do so—these same people lived under the Nazi tryanny until 1945. Had they loved liberty pure, they might have fought for it there and then; a few did, and they are not alive now. Had they even wanted to live in liberty—not fight for it, just live in it—they could have fled from Hitler Germany, at least until 1939, in much better style than they do now; quite legally, with their property. But they didn't."

"Why not?"

"Because, oh son of darkness, the Nazi tyranny was their very own tyranny. Most of them did not feel oppressed by it, or even annoyed. If they kept their mouths shut—do you know, by the way, why German dentists never discuss controversial issues with their patients?" He didn't wait for me to say I didn't. "Because they couldn't get them to open their mouths if they did."

"And," said I, "we come at last to the lovers of liberty pure. I suppose they also add up to X per cent of those who come over?"

"If I said five per cent," said the man, whom I promised not to quote by name, "I would be generous to the X in this case. What is the percentage, do you suppose, at home in America?"

I See by the Papers

by JAMES A. WECHSLER

This article is condensed and adapted from a chapter of Mr. Wechsler's book, Challenge to the Beat, *which Random House will publish next month. Mr. Wechsler is the Editor of the New York* Post, *which has become one of the nation's liveliest and most militantly crusading dailies under his tutelage.*—THE EDITORS.

IT HAPPENED in the winter of 1956. The Eastland committee (formerly the Senate Internal Security subcommittee) had been running out of headlines for a long time; there was also reason to believe that its chairman felt aggrieved over the vigorous civil rights editorials which the New York *Times* had been publishing. Whatever the motivation, it became known one day that the subcommittee had undertaken an investigation of "Communism in the press" and had selected the *Times* as its target.

In another time the mere announcement of the move would have stirred a national upheaval. For decades the press of the land had thundered with a single voice when any man sought to abridge the liberty of one of its members. Indeed, the sound of the war-cry—"freedom of the press"—was sufficient to rejuvenate even the stodgiest elders of the profession and bring them to the scene of battle. So sacred was the notion that newspapers shall be unmolested by Congress that, back in the Thirties, the counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers Association had argued that newsboys must be spared the protection of the wage-hour law.

Now came the Eastland subcommittee, hunting down a handful of members of the vast *Times* staff, some of whom were admittedly former Communists, even extending its researches to the composing room (who knows how a typographical error might undermine the national security?), and questioning them not merely about their alleged private political affiliations but, in at least one case, closely examining the dispatches a man had filed for veiled evidence of subversion.

It is surely unnecessary to argue here the substantive question of the *Times'* virtue; if there are those who suspect that the good, gray lady has a scarlet streak, they are beyond the reach of my voice. Moreover, it is my view of the First Amendment to the Constitution that the *Times* would have full liberty to become a mouthpiece for Fascists, Communists, or vegetarians if its directors were disposed to do so; and that unless they violated the law, there was nothing Congress could properly do about it.

All this once seemed elementary, but it wasn't in 1956 and perhaps it is not today. In 1956 (as, if I may say so, in 1953 when the New York *Post* came under somewhat comparable attack from the McCarthy committee) the old battle-cry had lost its fire, and many of the venerable warriors were missing in action. Not long after Senator Eastland and his men had begun their degrading assault on the *Times* staff men, the *Post* conducted a poll of 190 newspapers published daily in the nation's 100 largest cities. Our question was: what editorial position had they taken on the Eastland foray?

The answers revealed that 112 out of the 190 had maintained total editorial silence about this unpleasantness; 35 were critical of the subcommittee in varying degrees; 33 found justification for the inquiry; 10 managed to discuss the subject without indicating any clearly defined attitude.

Most of those who defended the inquiry argued that, if it was all right for Congressional committees to haul in professors, bricklayers, and village idiots for scrutiny of their political views—and they felt it *was* all right—then there was no reason for the press to claim any exemption. There is a certain legal logic to this view. Perhaps a commendable candor would have added that, since most newspapers had long ago abandoned any real resistance to the business of political inquisition, the press had no ground for insisting that it be left alone. The great concessions had been made long before when we accepted as a nation the proposition that the threat of Communism required the sacrifice of the principle of political privacy, and that any old-fashioned character who clung to the principle of the secret ballot was under suspicion.

What is most striking about the poll, however, is not the number of papers which defended the inquiry or the number which condemned it, but the silence which 112 of these metropolitan newspapers—58 per cent of the total examined—were able to sustain throughout this episode. I can only guess that some of the silent ones chose not to speak simply because discretion had become the commonplace editorial habit in all areas allegedly touching that dread domain called "security."

The *Times* survived. While a few of its staff suffered prolonged harassment as a result of their invocation of the First Amendment, there were those who serenely pointed out soon afterward that the whole incident was relatively trivial because all the news that was fit to print was still being printed. But that was not the point. For one thing there would be no way of measuring how many other editors and publishers might be subtly affected by this intimidatory excursion. What mattered even more was the revelation of the degree to which the sickness of "non-speak" had afflicted the lords and ladies of the press in questions deeply involving the liberties of Americans.

* * *

Newspapers vary in style, technique, and tone from city to city and town to town. Obviously generalizations do not apply to all, and do an injustice to the isolated figures who still cherish their independence. I know that such men exist; they simply happen to be less and less representative of a press which is overwhelmingly owned and operated by conservative Republicans (or conservative Southern Democrats) who fix the basic rules and determine the limits of political debate. And I use the word "fix" advisedly.

Plainly it is a freer press than any existing in Communist or Fascist countries, where editors share the common slavery of the populace, but that is no ground for continuous self-congratulation.

It is a press that has grown generally comfortable, fat, and self-righteous and which, with noteworthy exceptions, voices the prejudices and preconceptions of entrenched wealth and caste rather than the passion for justice which we associate with our best journalistic traditions.

It is a press generally more concerned with the tax privileges of fat cats than with the care and feeding of any underdog.

It is a press that confuses independence with the economic rights of ownership and too often feels a furtive kinship with the manifesto voiced by Thomas Waring, editor of the *News and Courier* in Charleston, S.C.:

"Though our country may be spared firing squads and barb-wire camps, tax bills are already biting deep into the personal property of the citizens. Property rights are an essential part of civil rights. Men will die to protect their property.

"If the American Republic already has passed into the democratic phase—meaning that the mob has begun to rule—the dictator cannot be far behind."

It is a press far more forthright in combating tyranny in Hungary than in waging the fight for freedom in the United States.

The predominantly conservative press fixes the rules of debate. It does so by obeisance to such untouchables as J. Edgar Hoover (and Hoover, Herbert), or by use of the word "planning" as an epithet. It also does so by the selection of its spheres of interest, and by the exclusion of some issues from the public forum.

I rejoiced when Dave Beck and his boys were exposed by a Senate committee, and I trust the day has passed when liberals endow corrupt labor leaders with the status of sacred cow. But it was in the same interval that an abortive Senate inquiry into the machinations of the oil lobby occurred. It perished with hardly a word of mourning from the same press which has derived so much headline fun out of disclosure of union corruption. The special tax privileges still accorded the oil industry under the benign rule of the Texas Congressional leadership (and the Texan in the White House) contain the makings of a national scandal; but the scandal remains hidden because only a handful of newspapers from coast to coast even pretend to care.

The Legion of Decency marches on, imposing its own standards of virtue on the rest of the community. When it sought, with the help of Cardinal Spellman, to impose a ban on the film *Baby Doll* on enlightened old New York, the editorial pages were distinguished by almost total speechlessness. Even the spacious editorial columns of the New York *Times* found no room for the controversy. Ironically, the issue was debated with conspicuous freedom in many Catholic publications even while most non-sectarian editors and publishers were paralyzed by fear of offending the "Catholic vote." In Syracuse both daily newspapers—the *Post Standard* and the *Herald Journal*—rejected all advertisements for the movie, a capitulation which was perhaps more honorable than the performance of other papers in other places which first accepted the ads and then declined to resist the censors.

* * *

Birth control also ranks high on the list of taboo matters. When the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States thrust the subject onto the front pages by denouncing what they called a "systematic propaganda campaign" for planned parenthood, there was a momentary flurry; the excitement, of course, was increased because the declaration focused the cameras on Senator John F. Kennedy at a moment when his Presidential ambitions were very much involved. Kennedy responded by saying that he was opposed to American advocacy of birth control and the use of federal funds for such programs; other candidates cautiously observed that they did not believe we should "impose" such plans on other peoples but that we should not withhold funds for these purposes if they were requested.

Virtually no one chose to debate the bishops' statement that it would be equally improper to provide "public assistance" to promote "artificial birth prevention" within the United States. Did this mean an opposition to federal grants for hospitals in which birth control information was made available to those whose lives might be imperiled by pregnancy? Presumably it did; but political leaders preferred not to explore such ramifications of the question and most of the press seemed equally reticent about pursuing them. Many newspapers met the whole problem editorially by acting as if it had not arisen, or by observing that there was much to be said on all sides, and perhaps the less said the better.

There is also the timidity with which much of the press has approached the fateful matters of nuclear tests and fallout. In part this may have simply reflected a reluctance to deal with the complexities of a subject that might be over our heads; the President had made it plain in 1956 that he resented popular debate over the continuance of the tests; and when, at one point, the New York *Times* reported that the Administration had been seriously contemplating a test moratorium prior to Adlai Stevenson's advocacy of the move, few newspapers displayed any curiosity about this extraordinary hint of atomic politics.

As Earl Ubell, science editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, noted in a broadcast in 1959:

"The National Association of Science Writers and, indeed, the Atomic Energy Commission itself have made two surveys which show definitely that at least one-third of the nation does not know and has never heard—I have to repeat that—has never heard—of radioactive fallout from an atomic bomb. Furthermore, only about 12 per cent of the population really knows technically what it is about—and when I say technically, I mean it on the lowest level of understanding. The reasons for this are many and varied but we can see that the public does not have much, if any, information in this field to make intelligent decisions."

One may acknowledge a certain instinctive public tendency to avoid close entanglement with fallout data, just as heavy smokers may often decline to read all the detailed medical testimony indicating a linkage between lung cancer and cigarettes. But Ubell's statistics also say something about the extent to which the press has generally given only routine and unimaginative coverage to the fallout story, and in practice, if not by deliberate design, accepted the Administration's long-held view that this territory is off-limits.

* * *

In the 1940's, when I was a Washington correspondent, I first heard Sir Willmott Lewis, then the distinguished Washington correspondent of the London *Times*, observe that it was the function of a newspaper "to afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted" and I have never heard any nobler description of our mission. But in fact most of the press has been afflicted with comfortableness, and the "troublemaker" is an unwelcome character around most city rooms. Many newspapers are now owned and run by men and women whose sole or primary concern is the business office, whose driving mission is to avoid any escapades that might disturb the serene flow of profits, and whose personal conservatism in politics coincides happily with the predilections of the major advertising institutions.

Most of what still poses as "crusading" journalism in newspapers is safely restricted to those crusades which harmonize with the interests of the conservative business community, or are simply irrelevant to it. In the summer of 1959, for example, the New York *World-Telegram and Sun* (Scripps-Howard) and the *Journal-American* (Hearst) embarked on parallel — nay, competitive — "crusades" to save the nation from inflation. Each exhorted its readers to deluge their Senators and Congressmen with coupons (provided for their convenience) calling upon them to stand firm against the monster. But neither newspaper ever acknowledged that effective resistance to inflation might conceivably mean government control of prices or governmental intervention in the affairs of industry and management. Both directed all their fury against "government spending"—the current point at issue being the scope of the federal housing bill under debate in Congress, with the President striving to render even more boneless the skeletal legislation presented to him.

Neither newspaper took any serious cognizance of the suggestion by Congressman—and former OPA Director—Chester Bowles that the greatest anti-inflation measure of the moment might be an agreement by the steel industry to reduce prices in return for a temporary wage-freeze. These newspaper crusades were entirely specialized; they were primarily aimed at government welfare programs; they could be joyously acclaimed by the same business groups which had long fought any governmental interference with inflationary price policies.

The conflict over labor legislation in the summer of 1959 demonstrated anew the surviving editorial lust of many newspapers for an old-fashioned drive against unions. Although the point must have been lost on many newspaper readers, the issue was not whether corrupt and oppressive union practices should be subjected to legislative control; the issue was whether legislation ostensibly framed to achieve those results should in fact obstruct the efforts of unions to organize workers still unorganized.

That was the heart of the difference between the Landrum-Griffin bill and the more moderate measures before the House. But most of the press had little appetite for "moderation" on this front. There was a concerted rallying behind the extreme Landrum-Griffin measure, a product of the perennial meeting of minds between conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats. There was great journalistic acclaim when the President, who had so often avowed his reluctance to comment on "pending" legislation, took the air to tell the country that not since Gettysburg had we confronted so grave a decision, a desecration of history of which even the National Association of Manufacturers had been incapable.

* * *

Most memorable about the episode insofar as the press was concerned was a sequel to it. When the measure passed the House, James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, wrote a heated letter to those members of the House who had voted for the bill, warning them that organized labor would try to remember their names and insure their defeat when they came up for re-election. Nothing in Carey's letter departed from the dictum of a noted conservative leader of U.S. labor, the late Samuel Gompers: "Punish your enemies and reward your friends." But from most editorial pages and the halls of Congress came sonorous denunciation of Carey for allegedly seeking to "intimidate" the upright men who had cast their votes against "the labor lobby."

Rarely has so spurious a naivete been imposed on the country. The truth was that the labor bills had been the signal for a great pushing-and-shoving match between the labor lobby and the business pressure groups, with both sides threatening reprisals, as they have been doing for a long time. But only one side of the story was told in most of the press.

Few papers, for example, told the story of the pressures put on Representative Erwin Mitchell of Dalton, Georgia, youngest member of that state's ten-member delegation to Congress and the only one to stand out against the Landrum-Griffin bill. There was the letter he received from E. T. Bawick, owner of the largest textile mills in his district:

"I personally spent time, money, and energy getting you elected . . . I can assure you that I will devote 100-fold more energy, time, and money in getting you out if you support the kind of legislation [the more balanced Elliott bill] you announce in your letter."

Day and night during the critical days before the vote, Mitchell recounted, he was summoned to the telephone by representatives of his local chamber of commerce, by manufacturers, and representatives of manufacturers warning him that his political life would be worth little if he defied the business lobby. Plainly this was not an isolated case, but to most of the big and little dailies and the great press associations, it was Carey's letter of "intimidation" that came under the heading of large news.

I have no doubt that sentiment for some legislation to curb autocratic union rule was widespread and warranted. The press diverted this sentiment into an unholy war, blurring the crucial distinctions between the various bills offered, and created the impression that "the labor bosses" were unanimously fighting legitimate restrictions no less than oppressive gimmicks. Noteworthy, too, was the fashion in which so many publishers and editors who damn "government control" in such areas as prices clamored for the severest dose of the stuff when it involved the regulation of unions.

In a thoughtful essay published in *The Nieman Reports* in January, 1959 (and later included in a volume called *The Waist-High Culture),* Thomas Griffith wrote:

"No role satisfies the newspaperman more than that of redressor; the chance to be angry, to rout out the rotten; but newspapers being what they are, angers are grooved—confined principally to what can be found out, or if not found out, suspected, to be wrong with government. Many, though not all, reporters willingly accepted this role against the Democrats, only to be disillusioned when publishers proved not such ardent pursuers of error in a Republican Administration. . . .

"Unjustified waste in business, as much as a government's taxation, grabs at the public's pocketbook—but it is not generally considered fair game for newspapermen.

"Business is a privileged sanctuary, even when its institutional ads are picturing it as just a collection of open-faced 'folks' like you and me, interested in nothing but the American way, the improvement of product, and the remembrance of millions of fond little shareholders. . . . It remains for an occasional outburst of grudge by a disappointed contender, a stockholders' fight or—long after the event—a Congressional committee investigation, for anything adverse to be heard . . .

"A journalist too energetic in seeking out the malpractice of business risks condemnation as being against business itself, yet the same logic should apply that applies to government, that it operates best in the public interest when made to operate in the spotlight."

Perhaps the highest tribute one can pay to *Time* magazine, where Griffith has worked as a senior editor for many years, is that he felt free to publish these words without any fear of reprisal but, also, alas, without any sign that his superiors had been moved by them. For *Time* is as clear an example of double-standard journalism as any in the land, and no textbook of modern journalism could avoid a long look at the way *Time* plays the game.

Whenever serious students of the press gather, there are melancholy recitatives about the menace of "sensationalism" in journalism. What I have to say in these ensuing paragraphs must be frankly labeled self-serving, because the newspaper which I edit is not only tabloid in size but also engages in extensive coverage of what some choose to call "sensational" news and what we describe as "human interest stories."

I preface these remarks by saying the obvious: if there were no New York *Times,* it would have to be invented, and until it was, life would be almost unbearably difficult for those of us who run afternoon papers in New York. I concede ungrudgingly that no paper in the world makes a more conscientious effort to cover so much of the serious business of the universe, and I trust it will not be too long before that distinguished fellow known as "the gentleman from the *Times*" is filing dutifully, and at length, from other planets, and with that degree of reliability which makes his words safe for rewriting by the early-morning toilers on afternoon papers.

But to recognize the unique eminence of the *Times* is not to concede that it offers the truly last word, or that journalism would have fulfilled all its potential role in American life if the *Times,* or some replica thereof, and nothing else, were published in every city. That would be a good thing, but it would not be the whole story of humanity in the middle of the Twentieth Century.

The news columns of the *Christian Science Monitor* totally reject the existence of murder, rape, incest, adultery, and other such doleful tidings; they are dedicated, in effect, to the chronicle of the strivings of man as a political and cultural animal. The *Times* concedes, usually in obscure places, that the animal is more complicated, and, when he gets really out of hand, it may even give him an occasional front-page notice. But essentially the premise of such newspapers, whether carried to the *Monitor's* extreme or in the *Times'* more modest application of the same view, is that there is something improper about the use of newsprint for the unveiling of what might be called the private, as distinguished from the public, activity of the species.

Throughout the profession this view of life is accorded mingled awe and reverence, and journalism students are told in effect that success in life means the achievement of that degree of financial stability which permits a newspaper to employ the same standards of exclusion that govern the news columns of the *Times*, if not those of the *Monitor*.

But with the already-stated respect I hold for the positive services rendered by both papers, I seriously question whether such puritanism per se—I know of no more precise phrase to characterize this policy—is unalloyed virtue. In a decade, for example, which sociology may remember most clearly for the emergence of the Kinsey reports on the sexual behavior of American males and females, the files of the *Times* seem full of omissions and inadequacies. Surely they would be painfully meager material for any historian trying to describe what life was really like in America at this juncture.

Whether some people like it or not, there has been a drastic transformation amounting to a minor cultural revolution in American attitudes toward public discussion of sexual affairs. A survey by *Newsweek* indicated how significantly this change had altered the character of magazines which prided themselves on their acceptability inside the home. Within a brief interlude, *Reader's Digest* was favoring its readers with an essay entitled "Achieving Sexual Harmony in Marriage," *McCall's* was explaining why "Honeymoons Can Be a Menace to Marriage," the *Ladies Home Journal* was discussing "Sex and Religion: the Challenge of Chastity" and *Cosmopolitan* was telling "Why Husbands Disappear." In the category of less venerable but still respectable publications, *Pageant* was issuing a recipe on "How to Overcome 'Sex Fatigue'" while *Coronet* was exploring "Wives and the 'Middle-Age Crush'." Even so pridefully wholesome a journal as *The American Girl*, published by the Girl Scouts of America, can be found discussing the plaintive plea of a 12-year-old girl: "Is there anything at all I can do to make my bosom grow?" (No clear-cut formula was offered.)

So-called tabloid journalism can be maudlin, surface, one-dimensional; when it is, it can be simply a daily variation of *True Confessions* or of *Hollywood Romance*. Its deficiencies can be painful and flagrant. But that is not because it deals with intimacies and aberrations, but because it too often deals with them according to lazy city-desk formulae rather than with the curiosity any writer ought to bring to his craft. In part the pressure of speed makes it easier to write the sentimental surface story rather than to find some glimpse of truth, and nothing can be more unsatisfying than the "human interest" feature so barely human that it is unworthy of interest.

Granting all these failures, I am astonished when serious prophets of the profession deplore what they term the efforts of newspapers to "entertain" rather than to "enlighten." It is as if the enlightened man were he who had been spared all news of crime on his block, who assumed that homosexuality was an obscure ailment confined to an infinitesimal portion of alien characters, who could not believe that the nice girl down the street was convalescing from an abortion after an unfortunate affair with a man twice her age, and finally exploded with disbelief when he read in the tabloids that his wife had run off with another man, and was grateful that the *Times* did not consider it newsworthy.

Nor is it easy to comprehend why the novels of John O'Hara, concerned as they are with the shams and heartbreak of middle class morality, may be appropriately reviewed on Page One of the *Times* Book Review while any resemblance to the conduct of his characters in real life would be regarded as largely out-of-bounds for the news columns.

A newspaper, it has been said so often, is the first draft of history; but it can also provide, at its best, the first draft—or at least the raw material—of plays and novels and, in doing so, reveal a good deal more about its time than a dry chronicle of politics and economics.

I am puzzled when it is argued that it is especially inappropriate for a liberal newspaper to exhibit any interest in those stories usually associated with tabloid journalism, as if there were a peculiar incompatibility between liberal politics and matters of passion. This is almost like saying that the less we know about the interior of peoples' lives, the more expertly will we draft codes of conduct for their public behavior.

What is wrong, I repeat, with much of tabloid reporting is not that it dwells on the privacies of human conflict, but that it is too often either romantic or vulgar, simple-minded or cliche-ridden, and thereby wholly unrevealing when it pretends to be most revelatory. But that is quite a different thing from the studied refusal of some newspapers to confront what used to be called the facts of life, and to dismiss as unprintable the kind of story that will eventually form the plot of a Tennessee Williams play.

There must be moments, at least, when any newspaper shifts its camera from the record of great personages, meaningful events, and high society to the gray quarters where the drama of most existence is enacted. In the old story, it is said that if some saga of violent sensuality slips furtively into the New York *Times*, it is identified as sociology, whereas in lesser journals it is dismissed as sex. Whatever the label may be, I simply suggest that a decade capable of accepting the Kinsey report as a record of our manners and morals should be prepared to find some of the findings documented in its daily paper.

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More and more we are becoming a nation of "one-newspaper" cities; where the proprietorship is unusually conscientious and dedicated, the result may be temporarily salutary, but in the long run the condition is unhealthy; only infrequently are the heirs the newspapermen their fathers were.

Where is the resurgence to come from? Once or twice in every decade a Marshall Field III or a Dorothy Schiff may emerge to start afresh, but these are increasingly rare events. While the combination of inherited wealth and congenital liberalism is an isolated and lucky recurrence, it hardly seems to be the fashion of the day.

The one great untapped resource of sponsorship for a newspaper renascence would, at first glance, appear to be the organized labor movement. Time and again the leaders of labor have cried out against the distortions and infamies of "the kept press" and often their indictment is supported by strong evidence. The answer, one would imagine, would be a daily labor newspaper, perhaps published in a key industrial center like Detroit with local "replates" issued in other major union territories. There is nothing mechanically or financially impossible about such a venture, I am convinced, but there are many reasons why the idea has been rejected each time that it has been advanced.

Perhaps the largest hope for a new press start lies in a revivified political liberalism. The Democratic Party, divided as it is now, could hardly sponsor a national daily without running into constant argument with itself. But a liberal political movement—whether it be called Americans for Democratic Action or by some other name, or whether it represented a Democratic Party freed of its most conservative elements—might well provide the general auspices under which such a venture could be promoted.

Of one thing I am certain: there is no shortage of talent for new enterprises in liberal journalism. The conservative press—magazines and newspapers alike—is crowded with young men, young and middle-aged, who would be happier in a different home, but for whom the area of choice is now acutely limited. Madison Avenue harbors others who still occasionally dream of more creative endeavors than the promotion of toothpaste. But they grow older each year, and their standards of living rise while the economics of journalism becomes more restrictive. Here, as elsewhere, too many men are "beat"—and the ranks of the woebegone seem to multiply rather than diminish.

The Military Surplus Scandal

by DICK MARTINSEN

A SERIES OF advertisements carried in the Sunday New York *Times* for years eventually cracked open what could prove to be the greatest government scandal since Teapot Dome. Payoffs and kickbacks have only been implied so far, but facts already established justify intensification of the inquiries under way by various Congressional subcommittees. The inquiries should probe into the past at least twenty years back, and include a broad scrutiny of individual bank accounts.

The advertisements were placed by organizations that regularly use the Sunday *Times* and many other papers to hawk by direct mail so-called military "surplus" goods. The "surplus" business—although it is fifteen years since there has been an official war—has mushroomed into a mighty industry of 8,000 firms and trade groups.

Thirty-odd years as a newsman have failed to dull my curiosity. The nature of innumerable items advertised at giveaway prices at first perplexed and finally disturbed me. Why should the Navy buy stainless steel pitchers at $18 each, then junk them so cheaply they could be sold at a profit to the public at two for $12? Did pitchers become obsolete? Why should the Army ever have bought "casual sport shoes" at $5.97 a pair—now offered to one and all at $1.99? Why should any service branch buy transit levels at $250 each wholesale, and auction them off for so little they can now be bought retail for $29.99? Why should late model Stevens .22-caliber target rifles, which cost the government $129 each, be jettisoned to sell at a profit for $37.50?

There were also "unused" Navy aircraft sextants, government cost $230 each, available at $19.50; Navy six-inch speakers "in original boxes," cost $75, now $9.95, and Navy compensating compasses, cost $143, now $12.50.

Finally there were items calculated to stretch anyone's credulity—Reed & Barton silver sugar bowls from the Navy, unused "Pet Mats" that cost the Army $18, now yours for $1.75, and unused Army "pruner saws and machetes," yours at $2.75. The saw-machetes had cost the Army $80 each, and were described as "all-around garden tools with combination blade and crosscut saw on one side and keen chopping edge on the other." "Skeet Traps"—devices to fling clay pigeons into shotgun range—which had cost the government more than $200 each, were now offered for a few dollars.

The list of whys grew so long, in my mind, it drove me finally to the Pentagon. Men have, of course, been known to vanish forever in the maw of this gigantic monster while on strictly official missions. This quest by an unauthorized civilian became such a fruitless game of battledore and shuttlecock I began to fear that one day, at the end of some remote corridor, a custodian would sweep up only my whitened bones. I withdrew in frustration but not in silence, to launch a barrage of pointed questions at Congressmen and various news services.

The word spread. Unknown comrades began to back my hand. Congressional mailbags swelled. In Collinswood, New Jersey, Citizen

DICK MARTINSEN, a copy editor of the Houston Chronicle, has written for a number of American and foreign publications.

Thomas H. Vernon compiled his own list of "surplus" items on the junk counter, and wrote his Congressman, Representative William T. Cahill:

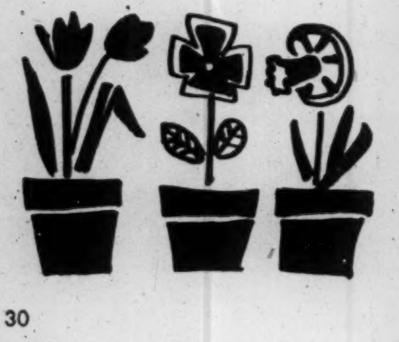
"The amounts involved in these instances are small. But if this apparent ineptitude on the part of the government procurement officers is widespread, then it would seem there is need for some sort of auditing function. Is there any dispassionate agency assigned with the responsibility of determining the validity of the actions of procurement officers?"

Representative Cahill couldn't answer that one. The only likely reasonable facsimile of a "dispassionate" agent in Washington is the director of the budget, and his blunt questions and dark warnings fall on deaf ears.

Cahill and other Congressmen passed the buck to the Pentagon, which feels obligated to give Congress at least some semblance of lip-service. The wire services and news bureaus also pricked up their ears.

The Defense Department saw reefs ahead. Paul H. Riley, director of supply management policy in the office of the assistant defense secretary, was assigned to quell the incipient revolt, and attempted to do so by way of a two-page, single-spaced reply to citizen Vernon, via his Representative. The Pentagon's statements assumed a familiar, threadbare form, casually sidestepping specifics and waving the Grand Old Flag. Riley could not, he said, comment on the items in question "without a tremendous amount of research." Then, with the entire case for the prosecution tossed out of the window, and a lengthy denial of all blame, Riley lavished abundantly on non-service quarters the blame he had denied. The public, he said, lacked understanding.

"Many of the items being disposed of today," Riley asserted, "were procured during World War II as well as the later Korean conflict. They were retained because of the need that might exist. . . . Several years hence today's procurements might also be questioned. . . . Our surplus property is sold, of course, only after it has been made available for possible use elsewhere in the federal government and to fulfill educational, public health, and civil defense needs. . . ."



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A good many items, I discovered, were never offered outside Washington. Many were not even offered to other agencies. House investigators have found instances where one branch of the service declared goods surplus while another branch was in the market for the same items.

"Our surplus property," Riley continued, "is offered for sale by military installations on the competitive bid basis and sold to the highest bidders." Although I was unable to pin down syndicated bidding, I found that bidders often were curiously few, and that when Group "A" bid on one substantial item, Group "B" was strangely inclined to refrain, while the next item, bid for by Group "B," drew no competitive fire from Group "A."

Before Riley submitted this stalwart defense, the alerted wire services and news bureaus had begun to punch holes in the dike which had so long bottled up the truth about the vast surplus seas. One news bureau, after checking back through the years, estimated that the government has recovered an average of eight cents on the dollar for more than *one hundred billion dollars* worth of equipment junked as surplus since World War I. That loss is about a third of the public debt.

It was made clear that the armed services have on hand unneeded items in such enormous quantity they can't even be sold as surplus, for they would totally absorb the civilian market and precipitate industrial bankruptcies.

Through Brigadier General A. J. Adams, director of supply operations, a House appropriations subcommittee learned of the Army's effort to corner the duck market at the time of the Korean "incident." It paid $300,000,000 for duck and webbing—about five times the amount it could conceivably use then, or ever in peacetime—so it still has on hand, the general admitted, some $185,000,000 worth of the material. Of this staggering accumulation, he conceded, $67,000,000 worth of the duck and $20,000,000 worth of the webbing can and should be jettisoned as surplus, but here's the rub:

The excess duck inventory is 79,608,000 square yards of cloth.

"How much is that in acres?" asked Representative George H. Mahon, the committee chairman, who was raised on a Texas farm.

The Army witness couldn't answer, so Mahon did some quick mathematics himself. "Why, that's 16,447 acres! It's enough to cover a hundred good-sized farms." After it had been established that the webbing would stretch even farther, he asked, "What do you propose to do with all this?"

The Army people hemmed and hawed. The upshot of their testimony was that the duck simply can not be unloaded all at once, or some manufacturers would be forced to close up shop; but, the witnesses added hopefully, duck lasts a long time in storage.

"It sounds like a dead duck," quacked Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania.

What will happen to the duck has been happening right along to other fantastic over-supplies, with few outside military circles the wiser. It will be written off as a dead loss. Much of it won't even bring the 10 cents on the dollar recovered in auctions of more adaptable and practicable items to the so-called surplus stores.

The Pentagon was not notably more communicative after the whitewash letter of its spokesman, Supply Director Riley, so the news services concentrated on Congressmen. Copies of military budgets are rather widely distributed on Capitol Hill, among appropriation committees and kindred groups. These budgets are not fully detailed. Their charts and tables are hieroglyphs. They do, however, set forth the main channels of expenditure.

The Associated Press rounded up the Defense Department budgets and put a crew of analysts to work. After long toil it was able to announce the first major breakthrough, figures of waste so astounding many people can't grasp or believe them. It reported to the nation that the Department of Defense wrote at least $7.5

billion off its books *in 1958 alone*. One billion dollars of this loss, the A.P. ascertained, was in goods the military couldn't use. The write-off is expected to be *ten billions* for 1959.

Much of the overall ten billions written off by the Defense Department was unavoidable. It was expended on arms and equipment which became obsolete almost overnight in our cold war against the Communists and in our race for space control. This justification could, with some logic, extend even to the "technical" change which prompted the Air Force to condemn 1500 flight helmets, costing $1500 each, and auction them off so cheaply they could be sold to the public at $75 apiece.

Approximately $1.5 billion of the loss was in aircraft and missile programs the military officially abandoned as miscalculations.

A good deal of the loss was and will continue to stem from fear, the desperate efforts of the defense chiefs to cover every bet on supplies, equipment, inventions, new instruments. This philosophy is summarized in the reaction of Mahon, the duck-calculator: "We can't afford to be caught short."

Mahon's committee investigators have established that millions upon millions are still wasted in duplicated buying, despite the reforms of the Hoover Commission. From the taxpayer's viewpoint this means the military is still buying two or three times as much as it needs. And none of the ten billion write-off included money wasted by the services in duplicating each other's work. This waste element, alone, calls for an investigation.

¶ The Air Force bought $60,000,000 worth of spare parts for the F-100 fighter plane, over a three year period, and found it didn't need them.

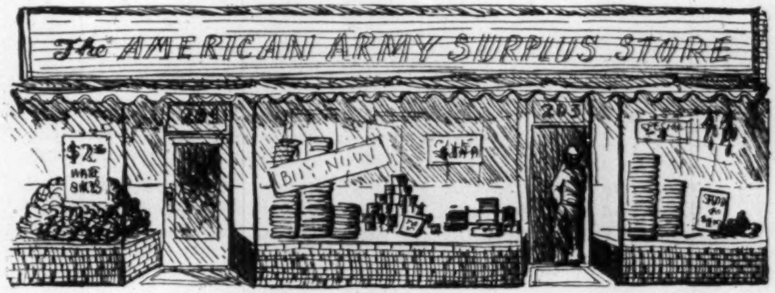
¶ The Navy bought 793 aircraft engines, valued at $68,000,000, which subsequent developments showed it did not need.

¶ At one time the Navy was forced to ground hundreds of planes for lack of a particular spare part, although it had on the shelf $823,000,000 worth of "surplus" parts.

¶ An automobile manufacturer charged the government $39.42 each for missile parts on a negotiated contract. When the same item was put out later for competitive bids, the winning bid was $2.32.

Mahon's staff, spurred by increasing public pressure, has found, also, that the armed services are using such an antiquated and haphazard inventory system that no branch has precise knowledge of all it owns.

The cost-plus purchase method of the services is little short of outrageous. In 1958, for instance, 84 per cent of the $23 billion spent on military procurement went into negotiated contracts.


The AMERICAN ARMY SURPLUS STORE
203
BUY NOW
203

A negotiated contract is an often feather-bedded, cost-plus commitment without competitive bidding, more generous than Santa Claus to the manufacturer and sometimes to the "agents" who arranged the deal. Only in wartime is there the slightest excuse for it.

"I can't say that collusion exists," asserted Representative Porter Hardy, Jr., of Virginia, after hearing witnesses before another House armed services subcommittee last June, "but collusion is certainly possible."

He had heard representatives of Congress' own General Accounting Office state that in a single year of spot-checking on Air Force contracts they had found $17,000,000 of overpricing, and believed there were additional uncalled for costs that had contributed to $13,000,000 worth of profits. Moreover, said the Accounting Office, it had checked less than one per cent of the contracts.

"Figure it out," Chairman F. Edward Hebert of Louisiana of the probe group told a reporter. "We have no reason to believe the remaining 99 per cent of the contracts are any different. This waste—or worse—could easily go into the billions."

Testimony before this particular group centered on reports that the Air Force has no adequate control over subcontract prices. In some cases, witnesses said, the Air Force accepted cost quotations based on prices higher than those subcontractors had already offered the prime contractors.

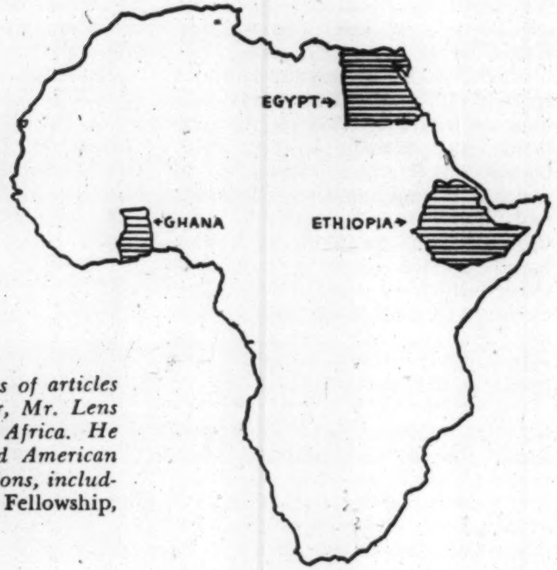
Mahon's committee was shocked to find the sales divisions of materials firms and other concerns which do a large business with the Defense Department swarming with retired military officers. It stated no conclusions, but the legislation it urged to oust them speaks for itself.

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois said in a public talk that the military could save at least two to three *billions* annually by better stock management alone. He deplored the waste in defense spending and by implication warned of widespread abuses of the public trust.

The mills of the gods and Congress grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine. The crackdown on defense spending and the military surplus scandal has just begun. If taxpayers continue to raise their voices Mahon's committee will keep digging. Senator Estes Kefauver's anti-trust subcommittee may well turn its eyes and ears in this direction. Senator John McClellan's racket probers will find the TV and radio "payola" a minor scandal compared to the gigantic target defense buying and selling represents.

These Congressional groups and others—if spurred by public demand—will find it far easier to pinpoint corruption than to level the mountains of surplus military equipment and supplies. Who, after all, can controvert the blanket argument of the Pentagon: "Of course we don't need this stuff right now, but we'll need twice as much if there's another war."

Duck webbing, stainless steel pitchers, .22-caliber rifles, Reed & Barton silver services, casual sport shoes?



Bursting Shackles in Africa

by SIDNEY LENS

This is the fifth and concluding installment of a series of articles by Mr. Lens on Africa. Labor executive and author, Mr. Lens recently returned from an extensive journey through Africa. He is the author of several books on foreign affairs and American labor and has contributed to many American publications, including the Yale Review, *the* Harvard Business Quarterly, Fellowship, *and* Liberation.—THE EDITORS.

IN THE broad sweep of history, revolutions against injustice stand out as high points of progress. But in the precarious immediate moment of social change they are veiled in confusion and caught in the cross-currents of idealism and nepotism, democracy and dictatorship, hope for the future and ineptness for the present.

Emerging Africa is no exception to the rule.

On the spot and in the flesh there is nothing beautiful about the African revolution—except in an obscure, long-term, spiritual sense. Now that Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Morocco, Libya, Sudan, and Tunisia have gained their independence, the struggle is only beginning. Looming ahead are more formidable barriers: hunger, poverty, disease, and—even more important—tradition, superstition, old value patterns.

At this moment, so soon after independence, the liberal can see tomorrow's blessings in embryonic form; the cynic only hopelessness. Unless you view the problem in perspective, you are liable to founder on details.

Perhaps a classic example of the inadequacy of observation is the estimate of Ghana by white supremacists in Africa. "Look at Ghana," an officer of the Dominion Party told me. "It's a bloody dictatorship. Those black people just aren't ready to rule themselves."

The Dominion Party of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is as racist and bigoted a force as you will find anywhere on this globe. At its last convention, which I attended for a few hours, it discussed techniques for excluding African voters by imposing a "civilization test." All the delegates agreed this was an excellent idea. The dispute arose over how stiff to make the test. Should men like Dr. Hastings Banda, the Nyasaland leader who practiced medicine in England for thirty years, be classified as "civilized?" Some said yes. Others said no. A leader of the party insisted that "for the forseeable future" the white man must rule the Federation because if it gave power to the black man he would abuse it. Ghana, as the first Negro country to free itself after World War II, drew his bitterest barbs. They talk of democracy, he said, but they strangle their opposition, they put people in jail without trial, they tolerate corruption.

These are remarkable charges coming from a ruling class that had just imposed an "emergency," had imprisoned more than 2,000 Negroes without trial, and was talking of further limiting the franchise so that the overwhelming majority of the population would have no say in government.

Yet, though the conclusions are false, there is some merit to the allegations.

Some weeks later in Accra, Ghana, I attended an outdoor meeting of 4,000 Africans who were adherents of the United Party, Premier Kwame Nkrumah's opposition. The mood of the meeting was bitter. As each speaker rose he shouted, "United Party," and the crowd shouted back, "Justice;" again, "United Party" and the response, "Freedom." Nkrumah was berated for banning election meetings at Sekondi-Takoradi the day before. The Savundra scandal was again dusted off for wholesale derision. Savundra was an international adventurer who came to Ghana to seek mining concessions, and later claimed —after he was deported—that he had spread tens of thousands of dollars in bribes but had been double-crossed. A member of Nkrumah's own party, S. I. Iddrisu, called a press conference to admit that he had received $5,600 and that other officials up the ladder had received even more. The government vehemently denies such charges but the United Party's request for an inquiry commission has been disregarded.

Another grievance of United Party speakers was the detention of forty-four men without trial, charged with sedition and attempts to overthrow the government by violence. Among those held were two leaders of the opposition, R. R. Amponsah and M. K. Apaloo, as well as a few dozen members of the Ga tribe from the Accra area.

Viewed superficially the charges against Nkrumah have substance. There *are* many disquieting features of his rule. The visitor is disturbed by the excessive adulation, the paeans of praise for the prime minister in the press and radio. All coins have a Nkrumah image on them; a Nkrumah statue stands in front of the parliament building; there is a Nkrumah Circle and a Nkrumah Road and a Nkrumah Trust Fund and two schools named after Ghana's leader. Stories of corruption and of money-making by revolutionary leaders, though unverified, keep making the rounds. There is reason to believe there is some substance to them. The detention law, though used sparingly, and the deportation law, which permits the regime to banish an opponent to remote sections of the country, are of course anti-democratic.

Yet the problem must be put in perspective. What is going on in Ghana is a double or combined revolution. If it were only independence that Nkrumah sought the task would have been simple. After the British left he could have granted the separatist demands of the Ashanti, the Ga, and the people of the Trans-Volta Togoland, permitting the chiefs and other conservative elements to re-establish their hegemony. But then Ghana could never have become a *nation* and it could not even begin to solve the economic, cultural, educational, medical, and other problems of its people. The Ashanti are only one-fifth the population of Ghana but produce three-fifths of its wealth. Without the Ashanti resources Ghana could hardly build new schools, roads, hospitals, industries. Forging a nation out of disparate tribes cannot be done without *some* compulsion; the questions are how much and how soon it ends.

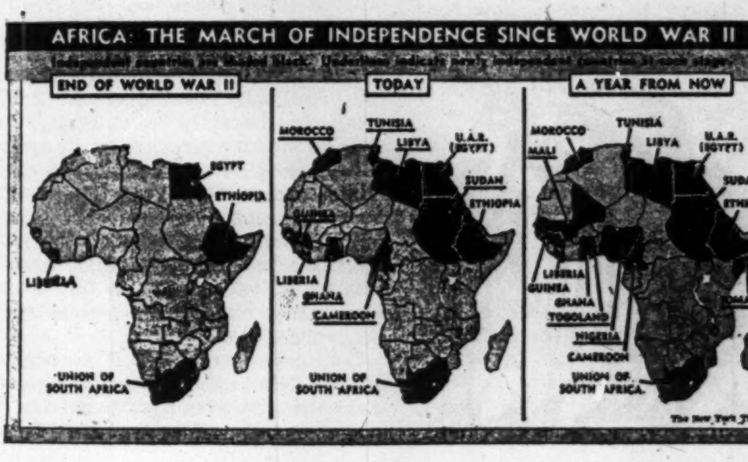
In Ghana, as in all underdeveloped countries newly arrived at freedom, parliamentary democracy is impossible overnight. There is no base on which democracy can be swiftly built. The peasants, who constitute 60 to 90 per cent of the population, are illiterate. After centuries of rigorous rule by feudal lords or tribal chiefs (not to mention the European powers) they have little political self-confidence. What there is of a native capitalist class is new, politically confused, and fearful that it may have only a short future. The working class is merely a converted peasantry also lacking in experience, literacy, and confidence. Only the intelligentsia and segments of the middle class are politically articulate, and it is their political shoulders that must carry the revolution.

Public opinion, as we know it in the West, does not exist. There are no pressure groups, no countervailing forces except for the small intelligentsia. So long as the intellectuals talked of "freedom from imperialism" they had a ready ear; a whole nation, regardless of ethnic and tribal differences, understood them. But politics has now moved into uncharted new concepts such as "centralization" or "federation," "rapid capital formation" or "slow capital formation." Untutored people need time to grasp such ideas, to assay their value in terms of bread, education, land. Until then the situation is ripe for demagoguery, fraud, opportunism, deception. Any emotional appeal can win a following, particularly if it is based on tribal or ethnic tradition.

To prevent this the African revolution needs a period of transition to widen the base of democracy beyond the middle class. That is why men like Nkrumah, Mehdi Ben Barka of Morocco, Sekou Toure of Guinea, and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt constantly debate the virtues of multi-party, single party, or no-party systems. For the time being Ben Barka favors a no-party system. He recently liquidated his Istiqlal Party in favor of an alliance of "people's organizations"—trade unions, student movements, peasant groups, and others—to lead the revolution.

Nasser, too, leans to the no-party system. When the ruling Ba'ath Party of Syria asked him to merge their country with Egypt, one of Nasser's main conditions was that all political parties, including Ba'ath, must be liquidated. They were. Sekou Toure guides the destinies of Guinea with a single party, having absorbed the opposition in the course of winning independence. In Ghana, on the other hand, Nkrumah concedes the validity of a multi-party system, but he insists on two qualifications: first, that opposition parties must be *national* rather than tribal; and second, that the state must have the means of preventing *coup d'etats* and political revolutions. The United Party is actually a combination of Ashanti, Ga, and northern tribal opposition into one force.

Whether Nkrumah is right in imprisoning opponents (in the case of Amponsah and Apaloo I think he is wrong), the fact is that without a strong state, armed with special powers, Ghana would fragment into at least three parts. That would be true no matter who ruled, because there just isn't enough cohesion in the Ghana "nation" to keep it together without stern measures. The miracle


AFRICA: THE MARCH OF INDEPENDENCE SINCE WORLD WAR II

Independent countries are shaded black. Underlines indicate newly independent countries at each stage.

is that compulsion has been kept to such small proportions.

Beyond this, however, democracy in an underdeveloped country must be viewed in an entirely different context from our own mature system. It exists at two levels. There is the national level, which involves primarily the intelligentsia, the press, the cities. And there are the grass roots, the villages, which encompass the vast majority of the people. Here the issue is not so much free speech as land tenure, not so much freedom of the press as freedom from the feudal lord or the tribal chief. In the villages Nkrumah has enlarged democracy greatly. Democratically elected councils have taken the sceptre of power from the chiefs and reduced them to ritualistic figureheads. Cooperatives are being formed, and the peasant now has freedom of movement and juridical rights of a kind he never enjoyed before. Thus while democracy at the national level has been whittled since 1957, there is no question that it has been greatly extended where it counts—in the villages.

In the long run, village democracy will not survive unless there is full national democracy. But the outcome is far from resolved. It may be that Nkrumah will relax his rule as the country becomes more prosperous and viable. Or conversely, the monolithic forces in his ranks may carry the day. A left wing has emerged in his movement led by a Marxist named Kojo Botsio; and a right wing led by a neo-Keynesian, K. A. Gbedemah. The issues between them are typical of new nations: how far to permit private capital to extend, how rapidly to develop, how hard to squeeze the population for new capital.

Nkrumah holds these forces together in an uneasy alliance, groping for ideology and direction. The tasks before him are monumental. Harassed revolutionary leaders are tasting power for the first time, and the opportunity for making money is a lure that many cannot resist. Men who were impoverished students only a decade or two ago now have shiny cars, lavish homes, and make decisions involving tens of millions of dollars. Almost every business man, bank, or foreign investor who deals with them is willing to offer gifts, loans, or other emoluments.

Beyond this are the more towering problems of converting yesterday's value system to tomorrow's. There is witchcraft and the *ju-ju* man to contend with. There is the un-competitive way of life which inhibits the emergence of a cash economy. There is the tribal and family loyalty which must be sublimated to national loyalty. Nkrumah insists that he permits adulation of himself only to break the old identification with chiefs and elders.

Even such personal matters as love and marriage are caught in the eye of the social tornado. Personal love and individual choice of a mate, such as we know in the West, do not exist—except with the intelligentsia. Marriages are made by the families of bride and groom, and the groom usually pays a *lobolo*—cash or cattle—for his bride. The woman's role is restricted to child-bearing, trade, and tending to domestic affairs. She is in all senses a second-class citizen who can be "divorced" by merely being ordered out of the house.

The new Ghana is eroding these and other concepts as more people become educated and tribal custom loses its hold. The cooperative and brotherhood way of tribal life is attractive in many respects, but if agriculture is to be modernized and the nation industrialized, there is need for an infusion of individualism and competitiveness. Some tribal security must be taken from the individual so that he strives harder for personal betterment—and in the process enriches the nation.

Considered against this background, Nkrumah's accomplishments—despite shortcomings—have been imposing. Before independence, when he was still prime minister under British rule, he introduced a first five-year plan. A beautiful new university was built at Accra, railroads were extended, paved roads carved into the interior uniting areas that were once inaccessible, modern hotels built, a big new port started at Tema, new homes erected for fishermen and workers, and primary education tripled from 150,000 youngsters to 450,000. Now, under the second five-year plan the pace continues. A dam is projected on the Volta River. When finished its electricity will light the nation and will be used, in addition, to turn the bauxite deposits nearby into aluminum. An American company has been invited to form a 50-50 corporation with Ghana for this purpose.

Though democracy has been restricted somewhat, Ghana has a creditable record under Nkrumah in the other things that matter—land, education, development, communication, village democracy. It is waking from its age-old slumber into the Twentieth Century. By comparison with other independent countries it has an outstanding report card.

* * *

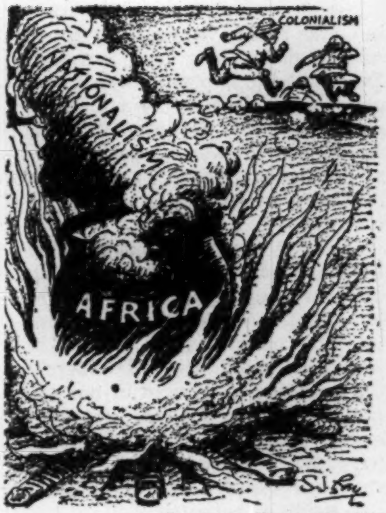
One has only to visit Ethiopia, which regained its independence from Italy during the war, to note the contrast. King Haile Selassie, world-renowned for his moving speech before the League of Nations when Mussolini took over his country, has had ample opportunity to develop his nation, but it remains sadly mired in the past. Feudalism is still the prevailing system in the villages. The church owns forty per cent of the arable land and the crown and feudal lords most of the rest. Though the city of Addis Ababa has a few modern patches, ninety-three per cent of the national population subsists on a meager agriculture. In 1958, 200,000 to 300,000 people perished from malaria, and for the last few years there has been a large scale famine—brought on by drought and locusts—which involves a million people in the north. It is as shocking as it is unpublicized.

Haile Selassie has cast Ethiopia's lot with revolutionary Africa, but he finds it difficult to shed his garb as an absolute monarch. Since 1955 there has been an "elected" chamber of deputies, instead of the appointed parliament that existed before, but "His Imperial Majesty" is the real power in everything. Political parties do not exist, the press is completely dominated, and the few hundred young people who have had a western education are hamstrung in their ambitions to remodel the nation. Nothing moves without the king's approval, and the king is more of a paternalistic mediator between opposing forces than a leader for progress. When he dies the country may well burst asunder, because the ruling Amharas—a Christian group—are a minority force surrounded on all sides by enemies. The conflict between the church and feudal lords on the one hand, and the peasants and intelligentsia on the other may also erupt at that time.

Of the new nations of Africa probably the most solid progress is being made by Nasser's Egypt. Our news of Egypt (and of the United Arab Republic of which it is the major sector) usually pivots around its external relations with Israel and with the two world power blocs. But its internal changes, seldom publicized, are more dramatic—and in the long run more important.

When Nasser relegated Mohamed Naguib to obscurity a few years ago he was pushing his revolution to the left. The fact that Nasser is a soldier should not misrepresent his role for those of us in the West who are accustomed to thinking of military men as pillars of the status quo. In backward nations the armed forces are under greater pressure from the population. When Nasser organized the four hundred young officers who overthrew Farouk (and behind him the British) he was responding to the pressures of the intellectuals and peasants.

Egypt in 1952, it should be recalled, was torn by riots. Cairo was besieged by its populace, hotels and stores were burned, the city pillaged. In the impasse that followed only the army seemed to have the power to restore a balance. Its older officers naturally wanted to retain the old system; Nasser and his young officers chose to overthrow it. Since then Nasser has grown greatly in stature. Personally incorruptible, he reads voraciously and he has formulated a philosophy that indicates he knows the mechanism of social change.



Ray in the Kansas City Star

The Captains and the Kings Depart

"Every people on earth," he says, "goes through two revolutions, a political revolution by which it wrests the right to govern itself from the hand of tyranny or from the army stationed upon its soil against its will; and a social revolution involving the conflict of the classes and which settles down when justice is secured to the inhabitants of the united nation. The terrible experience through which our people are going is that we are having both revolutions at once."

In the first stage of this double revolution Nasser removed King Farouk from power and forced the British to evacuate their military bases. The 2,000 big landowners who controlled the country were made politically impotent. Nasser did not expropriate their holdings, but paid them in long-term bonds when he took over most of their rich land. He had the full support of the intellectual class—students, writers, professors, doctors—who were and are lyrical in their endorsement of the regime. Two or three thousand men were arrested—many Communists, and others from the old classes. But most have since been released and it is noteworthy that no one was executed by the new regime.

In the second stage Nasser began to rebuild the economy and introduce democracy from the ground up. Four hundred and fifty thousand acres of land (out of six million) were distributed to the landless. For the other peasants he guaranteed land tenure by law. This is a vitally important matter in underdeveloped countries where the feudal lord can move peasants around at will. Now the peasant no longer need fear eviction. Six hundred thousand youngsters have been added to the primary school roster. University education, particularly in the fields of medicine and agriculture where it is so sorely needed, has doubled. Cooperatives and credit unions now offer credit at reasonable rates rather than the 30 to 150 per cent a year that peasants used to pay the money-lenders. Such enervating diseases as bilharzia and trachoma are being whittled down. Hundreds of apartment houses are springing up in the cities. Underground water resources are being surveyed in the desert which may bring three million more acres of land under cultivation. Approximately 250 combined centers now offer medical attention, agricultural advice, and other social services to the *fellahin*. This is far below the 864 centers that Nasser had hoped would be functioning by now, but it is progress.

* * *

Under the lash of the Suez crisis, which cut Egypt off from the world's industrial goods, Nasser speeded up the tempo of industrialization. A steel mill rose at Helwan. A fertilizer plant is being erected near the old dam. Electricity supply was to be doubled in 1959 and then increased five times more when the new Aswan dam is built. Textile mills, tire plants, cable plants, food processing factories, glass, soap, and other kinds of industrial establishments are propelling Egypt toward a modern economy. Egypt is still far from affluent—Nasser estimates its per capita income at less than $10 a month; and most of the plans, particularly in social services, are behind schedule. Yet things are happening in Egypt.

As in Ghana, there is sizeable corruption. But Nasser himself is clean and he has removed some of his closest associates for depositing money in Switzerland and for other irregularities.

In the political sphere the changes

so far are rudimentary. If one seeks for a Western-style democracy he will seek in vain. The press is controlled, the state puts people in jail without trial, and as yet, there have been no true national elections. The 1959 balloting in which 90,000 candidates ran for 30,000 local offices was a farce by our values. There were no parties, no slates, no free press. Yet in the light of Egypt's experience, it constituted a big step forward. This was the first time the peasant was voting as a free man. Under Farouk and the British he always voted as his feudal lord told him to; otherwise he might lose water rights, land tenure, sometimes even his personal liberty. The feudal lord ran the show. Nasser feels that the first step towards true democracy must be to break this tie, not only juridically but in life itself. The 1959 elections recorded this progress; for the first time thousands of feudal stooges were turned out to pasture. Not everywhere, but in many places peasants were electing peasants to guide their own village life.

Nasser, unlike Communist leaders in China and elsewhere, does not pretend that his is a true democracy. Eventually he hopes to forge a multiparty parliamentary system, a free press, and all the other accoutrements; but to him, Egypt is now in a transition period in which the first step is to build peasant self-confidence.

Inside Nasser's movement the intellectuals are waging bitter battle over the tempo of progress. But Nasser will not permit the conflict outside this narrow circle. One faction proposes a rapid rate of development, the doubling of income in ten years; the other favors a slower rate, over a twenty-five year period. The left wing, which seems to have Nasser's ear at the moment, is non-Communist but strongly anti-capitalist. It wants to weaken, perhaps destroy, the new capitalist class; while the more moderate section wants to incorporate this class into the revolution. Here again the fragmentation of the revolution into left, right, and center factions is apparent. Freedom from imperialism, it is evident, is only the prelude to new struggles and new disputes—but on a higher social and economic level.

This is the true measure of Africa's progress. Not the episodic transgressions on the western form of democracy. Not the corruption that either continues over to the new day or is born out of new opportunities. Not the personal idolatry which is so reminiscent of Stalinist days in Russia (though it is nowhere nearly so pronounced either in Ghana or Egypt). Not the factionalism that sometimes immobilizes action. The story of emerging Africa must be told in terms of *direction*.

Judged this way, all of emerging Africa is making progress, but at a varying tempo, some slower, some more rapid. It is true, as the Dominion Party spokesman says: The African is not yet competent to rule himself. But which revolutionary nation ever has been? All revolutions are short of capable civil servants, economists, professors, thinkers. In this sense Africa, too, is not "ready." But it would *never* have been ready under European rule. The whole idea of imperialism was to checkmate freedom, enrich the mother countries, not the native people. Now these shackles are bursting.

Africa is at the threshold of a new day, finding its own political forms, working out its own destiny.

For us in America this is a vital factor in our own future. Africa can tip the scales towards the Soviets, towards neutralism, or towards a re-dedicated West—depending on whether we join in helping the revolution or staying "neutral." At the moment we are following a "neutralist" course, on the side of the European powers. Though we couch our phrases in diplomatic nuances we support France, Portugal, Belgium, and Britain rather than the native people, because France, Portugal, Belgium, and Britain are our NATO allies. In the Union of South Africa our ambassadors have not even entertained a single African in the embassy; the Russians, by contrast, have been expelled from the country because they have.

This is a tragedy born of blindness. For the future in Africa belongs to the African. The sooner our State Department understands this the better for Africa—and for us.

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The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

Ten Years of the Sino-Soviet Alliance

The Bear and the Dragon

by O. EDMUND CLUBB

Soviet Premier Khrushchev's February visit to India and Indonesia, made at a time when China's relations with both of those Asian countries had badly deteriorated, highlighted once more the question that for nearly two years has intrigued political observers: is there a rift in the Sino-Soviet alliance?

Ten years have elapsed since the signature of that alliance in February 1950, and the agreement has twenty years more to run. The first decade has seen monumental changes. Both states have grown notably in strength—but in different ways. There have been shifts in their respective foreign policies in response to modifications in the world balance of power. Those shifts have sometimes been dissimilar; in certain areas—most notably in India and Japan—the Chinese and Soviet policies are in manifest contradiction to each other.

The evident differences in the Asia policies of the two leading Communist powers pose logical questions: What is the condition of the Sino-Soviet alliance at this juncture? What are the future prospects for the alliance? And what do developments in this regard portend for the American world position?

Communist doctrinal considerations had their part in the creation of the 1950 alliance. Nevertheless it is not to be assumed that either nation made its commitment for reasons of political doctrine alone. The U.S.S.R. would obviously be strengthened greatly, in its competition with the United States for supremacy in the Asian sphere, by having China on its side. And Mao Tse-tung, as early as July 1949, had disclosed the cold calculation which would underlie his regime's signature of the alliance less than a year later: a China manifesting "the New Democracy" could expect no real aid from "imperialist" countries, he asserted, whereas alliance with "the international revolutionary forces" would make possible the consolidation of "the people's revolution."

The Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance is thus found to be a practical political document, designed for mutual benefit. The alliance in action has demonstrated its usefulness to the two countries in a variety of critical situations. The Communist allies have achieved certain important if limited successes through coordinated campaigns against the United States and its allies in the so-called "arc of free Asia" that sweeps around the Asian periphery from the northern end of the Japanese archipelago to Turkey. In several critical sectors, they have succeeded in penetrating the Maginot Line of American politico-military "containment," and they seem poised to advance their positions still further.

China especially has benefited substantially from the alliance. It enabled her in 1950 to undertake simultaneously military intervention in the Korean War and the "liberation" of Tibet, and in 1955 and 1958 to defy American military might in the Formosa Strait.

China's world influence grew rapidly in that political climate. It was even speculated, on the basis of developments of 1956 and 1957 arising out of the Polish and Hungarian revolts, that China had become a European power. Had not Mao Tse-tung personally intervened in an East European Communist bloc dispute with a pronouncement of high doctrine, and did not Premier Chou En-lai visit Warsaw and Budapest at critical hours? Was it not Peking that determined the pattern and pace for condemnation of Yugoslav "revisionism"?

O. EDMUND CLUBB served as an officer in the U.S. Foreign Service in Asia for two decades and for [illegible] time as director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the State Department.

In some circles the belief grew that Mao Tse-tung had taken the place of Stalin as the foremost Communist theorist, and that Peking was in the course of wresting leadership of the World Revolution from Moscow.

Such speculation omitted consideration of various crucial factors. The Soviets are not governed by quixotic sentiment in their relations with China. Political man has not yet reached such a state of perfection that the Soviet and Chinese leaders, coming from vastly different cultural backgrounds, would invariably trust fully each other's political intentions. The Soviets have experienced difficulties before with the nationalistic leanings of even Polish and Yugoslav Communists, and are thus fully appreciative of the force of national ambitions. Moreover, they have previously had dealings with a wide variety of Chinese groups, and upon occasion had their expectations betrayed. Remembering Stalin's disastrous venture into Chinese revolutionary politics in 1924-27, they would be quite aware of the danger inherent in the inborn Chinese urge to power—and be alert to ward off thrusts against Soviet positions.

* * *

Situations exist which make naturally for Sino-Soviet conflict. In general, both nations are following expansion routes which would seem to converge inexorably on points of collision. The various non-Chinese and non-Russian peoples living astraddle the 5,000-mile-long common frontier make for an inherently unstable border condition. There are other borderland problems: Peking has already manifested an urge to reassert Chinese influence in the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), which the U.S.S.R. has long treated as a protectorate; and Tsarist Russia and Communist Russia alike have shown a deep interest in the fate of Korea—but China is no less interested.

Even more immediate possibilities for a clash of Soviet and Chinese political aims arise in the disputed zone comprising the world's underdeveloped countries. The Soviet Union and China are both dynamic, both highly nationalistic and ethnocentric. China works to convince the Afro-Asian world of the preeminence of Chinese culture and power; the Soviet Union, imbued with an equally strong sense of national mission, on the other hand would have the "uncommitted" countries of the world believe that the U.S.S.R. alone had discovered the one true road to the future.

Moreover it is evident that, not unnaturally, Peking looks upon Japan and India as being of primary concern to China. History would suggest that the Chinese Communist leaders probably even view the Chinese interest in those neighboring Asian countries as taking precedence over the interest of the Soviet Union, which to Asians is an essentially Occidental power. Nevertheless, it is readily apparent that the U.S.S.R. would not willingly accept the accession of either India or Japan to a Chinese bloc operated on the principle of "Asia for the Asians." Its own position in Asia would be threatened accordingly, on either the southern or eastern flank, or both.

MISCEGENATION

by MILTON MAYER

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The Progressive

Madison, Wisconsin

There was no discord between Peking's and Moscow's Asia policies in evidence at an earlier stage. Beginning effectively with the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Soviet Union and China launched parallel programs, economic collaboration, and cultural exchanges designed to draw the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa toward the Communist bloc. China, as an Asian nation, was able to ride high on the wave of fraternal Asian sympathies called forth by the Conference, and initially made some notable progress with its campaign.

Now, five years later, China's relations with various leading Afro-Asian countries have substantially deteriorated. By its own actions in the field of foreign affairs, Peking has alienated amicably disposed governments in Tokyo, Jakarta, New Delhi—and even Cairo. In addition, the overwhelming of "autonomous" Tibet by the Chinese mass in 1959 produced a general Asian disillusionment and brought widespread recognition that Chinese ways were not always "Asian" ways. By no stretch of the imagination could Peking's actions be regarded as being in harmony with the Bandung principle of "peaceful coexistence;" they appeared, instead, aimed at making China dominant in Asia. But China's neighbors quite evidently would not be hospitable to any Chinese attempt to revive, in enlarged form, the old Japanese idea of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"—under the leadership of Communist Peking instead of Imperial Tokyo.

Violence done by Peking to the principle of "peaceful co-existence" inevitably generated opposition to China in that Afro-Asian field where it had first proposed to advance by blandishments. There was a turning away from China, but not from its ally, the Soviet Union. The two were discovered to have, after all, different interpretations of the meaning of "peaceful co-existence."

The crux of the matter is that China and the U.S.S.R. are nominally peers in their alliance, but are not so in actuality. Peking's 1956-57 venture into European power politics does not confute this assertion. That action coincided with a temporary harassment of the Soviet Union at the hands of its "socialist allies" and, perhaps, a contemporary overestimate of Chinese strength. Now, in 1960, the Soviet embarrassment has passed; Peking's role in bloc affairs has been "de-emphasized"; and China has again formally acknowledged the Soviet Union to be the leader of "proletarian internationalism."

* * *

The inequality between the two is found less in the political than in the economic area. China's national pride had insisted upon a recognition of political equality in 1950, and the essence of equality was written into the treaty of alliance. The final marks of Chinese political inferiority—in the form of several Sino-Soviet joint-stock companies, a Soviet interest in the Manchurian railway system, and certain rights enjoyed by the Soviet Union in the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur—disappeared within a half decade. China, however, was required to compensate the U.S.S.R. for Soviet property thus acquired.

This is the key to the Sino-Soviet relationship: China is required to pay, not necessarily on the barrel-head, but always eventually and in full, for value received. Even if the Sino-Soviet alliance terminates in time, the U.S.S.R. will not have suffered material loss. As a price for its enjoyment of independent and equal political status, China is charged with its own economic support.

This is a factor of prime importance. It is entirely evident that Moscow views the Sino-Soviet relationship in the context of the overall political situation. In the contemporary world, China possesses major significance, but it is not necessarily the ultimately decisive agent. It suffers from serious weaknesses, outstanding among which are its economic backwardness and a grave imbalance between population and food supply. The first weakness, as expressed in terms of technical skills, industrial plant, mechanical energy, and communications, can be overcome in time—in fact, the Chinese are currently making great strides along those lines. The second weakness persists and is even magnified by a tremendous continuing population growth, which acts automatically to cancel out much of the achievement of increased industrial and agricultural production. Until China succeeds in curbing its population growth that second weakness must remain, at our present stage of knowledge, virtually incurable.

Communist chieftain Khrushchev has stated flatly that economic factors will determine the outcome of the present international struggle. China, heedful of this possibility, has posed not only as a first-rank political power, but as a full-fledged economic power as well. It has extended economic aid to such widely separated countries as North Korea, Cambodia, Nepal, and Egypt; it has even launched a trade drive into Africa.

The compulsive obsession with recovery of a long-lost status as the dominant power in Asia has led China's rulers to undertake various foreign economic programs which disregard the vast needs of the Chinese people themselves, finding their only warrant in political considerations. But those efforts in the foreign trade-and-aid field will ultimately be limited by an increasing urgency in domestic demands. The Soviet Union will then be in a position to profit accordingly, for its domestic demands are being met ever more fully.

China is destined to remain, for the visible future, economically inferior to its Soviet ally. The U.S.S.R. commands a telling advantage over China. The "scissors gap" between the Soviet and Chinese standards of living is mathematically certain to increase, not decrease, with the passage of time, thus augmenting the attraction of the Soviet Union in comparison with its Oriental associate. The U.S.S.R. can perform much more effectively than China, in the long haul, within the framework of "economic cooperation."

* * *

Will the U.S.S.R. subsidize, from its own national wealth, the Chinese population explosion? Will the Kremlin support Chinese economic drives into areas which Moscow may regard as being within the Soviet sphere of interest? The Soviet Union, indeed, considers itself, as the advanced "metropolitan center," responsible for aiding agricultural sectors of the "socialist" community—but not to its own detriment or impoverishment. Moscow will not open up the Soviet domain to make room for the proliferating Chinese. Nor will it deprive the Soviet citizenry of hard-earned consumption goods so that the nation might participate, gratis, in the Sisyphean task of trying to feed, clothe, and house the 12 to 15 million additional Chinese who arrive on the world scene each year. It is not logical to expect that the Soviet Union will forego what it has come to regard as its historical destiny by ceding leadership in Asia to Peking, or by attempting to carry China along on its back.

The U.S.S.R. will, of course, continue to assist China with its economic development—insofar as China is able to pay for that aid. In a significant sense, however, the establishment of the Sino-Soviet alliance in 1950 and the subsequent estrangement of the Chinese nation from the chief NATO powers and from Japan have permitted Moscow to downgrade the current political importance of China and divert major Soviet attention toward Japan, India, the Middle East, and Africa. The U.S.S.R. is thus found making substantial contributions to the fulfillment of the economic programs of such non-Communist countries as India and Egypt. Peking can claim no title to a monopoly over Soviet economic surpluses.

The Chinese nation is thus fated to witness the Soviet Union use equipment and materials, which might be of great value to China for its industrialization, to build up countries with which China may not even be on friendly terms; worse, those countries could conceivably in due course side with the U.S.S.R to China's disadvantage.

Is it not possible that China will accept the inescapable logic of some such major clash of interest with the Soviet Union and bolt the alliance?

That move is theoretically possible, but hardly probable—especially at this time. Itself economically underdeveloped, China still wields what is in part a borrowed power. It is constrained in corresponding degree to maintain intact its ties with the lender, Moscow.

China's economic reliance upon the Soviet Union has given Moscow a strong lever for possible future use. China by mid-1957 had received from the U.S.S.R. credits totalling $2.24 billion (including, inferentially, military credits advanced during the Korean War); and, in early 1959, Moscow agreed to supply its Chinese ally with $1.25 billion worth of equipment and materials over the period 1959-67. In recent years, a full half of China's foreign trade has been with the Soviet Union; and a total of about seventy-five per cent of that trade is with the Communist bloc as a whole.

These are marks of the inexorable forces which the Peking government must heed while engaged in driving the nation to lift itself by its bootstraps. China can threaten to "go it alone," and will take big risks knowing well that Moscow will pay a high price to keep the Sino-Soviet alliance in being; but it will be curbed by the realization that there are some prices which the U.S.S.R. need not pay. Moscow needs China for its *international* purposes, but the Peking regime will for some time to come remain heavily dependent upon the Soviet Union's "economic cooperation" for the attainment of basic *national* goals.

In summary, the indications are that the Sino-Soviet alliance will remain intact, as an effective force in world affairs, for some time to come. But what of the more distant future?

Ever since Dr. Wilhelm Starlinger launched the proposition in 1955, there has been recurrent speculation that the U.S.S.R. would be driven to seek a combination with the United States against the rising power of China. There is a prima facie logic in that concept, but the Calvinistic temper of the United States alone militates against its realization. Nor is there convincing evidence, despite Khrushchev's campaign for "peaceful co-existence" with the United States, that the Soviet strategists contemplate so revolutionary a reversal of past policy. By all indications, Moscow has turned to Asia and Africa, and to the unstable periphery of "the American camp," for the purpose of winning new support for Soviet world policies.

That strategy has almost certainly

been evolved with due consideration for the circumstance that the entry of India and other important Asian countries into the Soviet orbit would serve admirably, if incidentally, to counterbalance any dangerous manifestations of Chinese nationalism. The situation bears no promise of the Soviet Union's abandoning "anti-imperialism" in favor of "pro-Americanism." The indications are instead that the U.S.S.R. would depend upon the system of political and economic relationships it is laboriously building up with leading Afro-Asian countries to serve, in case of need, to help "contain" China. Moscow will assuredly strive to keep China in the Communist bloc; it will also employ the considerable leverage at its disposal to try to keep China in line.

And what of the American relationship to this situation? President Eisenhower, in the course of his recent visit to India and the Middle East, voiced concern for Asian hunger. The U.S. government has likewise announced that it feels that its richer allies in the NATO community ought to contribute a more generous portion of economic aid to the underdeveloped countries of the world; there has even been talk of coordination of the West's efforts in this connection. But an adequate American response to the economic problems of the world's "disputed zone" is yet to be formulated.

So, too, there is still lacking an American political strategy designed to profit from any clash of Chinese and Soviet interests in that same critical zone. Our policy-makers purport to believe that China is an undeviating satellite of the Soviet Union and, in accordance with what a State Department spokesman last October described as "the doctrine of partial responsibility," would have the Soviet Union assume "a good measure of . . . responsibility for Chinese Communist conduct . . ." This is a gross—and dangerous—oversimplification of the problem. The future world position of the United States will be determined in good measure by the accuracy of our appreciation of the complex forces at work within and between the two leading Communist powers—and what use we make of the opportunities offered thereby. It is high time to discard the notion that China and the Soviet Union are identical Communist twins.

Our Crazy Quilt State Taxes

by WILLIAM L. FORTUNE

THE FIRST major attempt to overhaul our federal tax structure since its inception almost a half century ago was launched last November with the opening of public hearings by the House Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Arkansas Democrat. The five weeks of panel discussions that followed, testimony covering every aspect of federal taxation, delivered by tax experts, economists, and finance specialists representing a broad rainbow of interests and viewpoints in the nation, produced 2,400 pages of valuable information and advice. And this is only the beginning of the huge task the House Committee has assumed.

After traveling 6,000 miles and interviewing governors, tax experts, and the man-on-the-street in the industrial bread basket of mid-America and along the eastern seaboard and southern United States, I can only regret that there is no comparable central body to which the American people can turn to make sense out of their crazy quilt state tax structures. State taxes may be less burdensome than the federal impost, taking roughly 10 per cent of the national income as compared to 22 per cent for the national government, but if I heard the people correctly, it is the state and local levies which are meeting the greatest resistance. There are reasons behind this resistance, but no one should mistake the importance of our state and local tax resources. They are, for example, practically the sole support of the educational system in the United States.

WILLIAM L. FORTUNE, former Indiana state treasurer, who lives in Zionsville, Indiana, recently completed an intensive first-hand investigation of state finances. To study the program at close range he packed his family and seventeen pieces of luggage into a station wagon for a 6,000-mile tour of the important state capitals. He talked to governors, their staffs, tax officials, economists, and the one on whom the final burden rests —the man on the street.

As governor after governor asked his state legislature for increased taxes in the past year largely just to maintain a position of solvency, we were told by the editors of *Fortune* magazine that this may be only a harbinger of things to come, that the gap between the states' income and outgo by 1970 would be a whopping $8 billion, even allowing for the normal increased receipts accruing from national growth at present rates of taxation.

Why was 1959 suddenly the year for the states to run out of money? Actually, most states had been running deficits regularly since the end of World War II, but the surpluses built up during the war years had carried them through despite the fact that since 1947 the purchasing power of the dollar had fallen 20 per cent and population was up 21 per cent. In the meantime, too, most states had committed themselves either to new programs or higher levels of support for existing programs and thus had permanently raised their "fixed charges."

Michigan was in the worst trouble of all, but not because she was a "welfare state," a popular misconception fostered by the nation's press. If she were, she wouldn't rank 34th among the states in per capita expenditures in this field. Michigan's difficulties stemmed rather from constitutional limitations which nearly prohibited action without the slow process of constitutional amendment. For instance, the sales tax was limited to three per cent and five-sixths of it had to be returned to the local communities and school districts.

Although Governor G. Mennen Williams proposed an individual and corporation net income tax, the legislature, long dominated by the Republicans, would have none of it, preferring to circumvent the Constitution by raising the sales tax one per cent and calling it a "use" tax in the hope the state's highest court would sanction it as such. The court refused, however, and so after ten months of bitter struggle between the governor and the legislature, Michigan at the end of 1959 was in a worse financial morass than when the year began.

By mid-summer Governor Williams had given up all hope for his net income tax. Despite the political support he had received in the past from the labor unions, he said he would approve an increase in the sales tax. Labor unions have long fought the sales tax because they feel the workers bear a disproportionate share of its burden. On the other hand, the governor's principal legal adviser, Alfred Fitt, pointed out that the unions had not been able to sell this to their membership. Evidently it is less painful to pay in dribbles throughout the year, even though it may total more, than in one lump sum. Finally, after the state's supreme court had declared the raise in the sales tax unconstitutional, Williams announced he would accept any of 26 possible solutions to Michigan's tax problem.

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At year's end the legislature enacted a stop-gap proposal which increased the corporation franchise tax, raised the price of liquor sold in state-owned stores and the tax on cigarettes, other tobacco products, and beer, and added a new tax on telephone and telegraph services. Recognizing it for the palliative it was, the legislature made the bill effective for only 18 months, and immediately set out to place before the electorate in November 1960 proposals for more basic solutions, including a referendum on the net income tax and the removal of constitutional limitations on the sales tax.

Whereas Michigan's Williams used a rifle with his net income tax proposal and then switched to a shotgun, Governor Michael DiSalle of Ohio used a shotgun from the beginning to get the $200 million he said he needed to bring Ohio's public welfare and health programs up to date. He proposed no new taxes but general across-the-board increases in practically all the state's principal taxes—sales, cigarette, gasoline, and corporation franchise—plus an increase in the prices of liquor sold at state-owned liquor stores. By mid-year DiSalle had gotten practically all of his tax program through the legislature. Immediately thereafter, sensing the public reaction I had heard everywhere to the effect "that guy wants to tax everything" (even though there had been no new or increased taxes in Ohio in fifteen years), the governor set out on a speaking tour of the state to recapture his shaken prestige.

In Pennsylvania, Governor David Lawrence was hamstrung by the state's constitution, which prohibits any net income tax not levied at a uniform rate on all citizens. This had effectively kept the net income tax from being applied to individuals, but corporations had been made subject to it by paying a flat rate. Faced with a $177 million deficit, Lawrence's only recourse was to an increase in the existing sales tax rate and a widening of the tax base to include virtually all sales except those of food and clothing. An eight-months political tug-of-war ensued, not over the necessity of the tax increase but to avoid the political blame for its enactment. The experience of former governor George M. Leader, who raised the sales tax from one per cent to three per cent and then ran for the United States Senate in 1958 only to be defeated while all other Democrats were winning (including Governor Lawrence), was a lesson not lost on the state's politicians.

There were other lessons to be learned in Pennsylvania, particularly the public's lack of concern over the ultimate solution to the problem. I had noted this in Michigan, a state as close to financial bankruptcy as it has been my experience to witness. Many of us have vague recollections of the depression days of the Thirties when teachers went unpaid with the collapse of property tax collections, but then everyone was worried about the situation. Today there is no such atmosphere of crisis. In Lansing, the Michigan capital, legislators were joking about it as we rode with them in the state house elevator. State employees told us how painless were the "payless days" as merchants, banks, and the state employes' credit union extended credit to them—without interest. These states were like islands in a sea of surrounding prosperity, and their confidence was complete that somehow things would work out, even though their state constitutions prohibited borrowing funds to weather the crisis.

But public officials must take their share of the blame for the public's disinterest. Although numerous studies had been made under both private and public sponsorship, governors taking office in January were forced to present their explosive tax programs in a vacuum because their predecessors or they themselves as candidates for office had not debated the real issues or had lulled the public into complacency with campaign promises of "no new taxes." It was no wonder that whenever we asked a private citizen what he thought of his governor and his tax program, the answer revealed a seething inner resentment.

* * *

"Take him back with you to Indiana—he's gotten too big for his britches," were some of the printable words a gasoline station owner outside Springfield, Massachusetts, used regarding Governor Foster Furcolo after he had proposed a new three per cent sales tax. "We're the heaviest taxed state in the country and Furcolo would have to think of still one more tax," he sa [illegible] he revealed not only his own ignorance of state tax matters but also Furcolo's failure to make his purposes clear. What Furcolo had proposed was that two-thirds of the new tax would be used to reduce the most burdensome local property tax in the nation ($121.67 per capita as compared to a national average of $75.46).

A house painter we talked to, who complained bitterly because he was paying $485 in property taxes on his four-room house, couldn't believe it when we told him that the total tax bill of a citizen of Massachusetts, when measured as a percentage of his average income, would be about the same as that of a citizen of any other state. If he lived in Mississippi, he would have very little to pay in the kind of visible, tangible property tax that makes people highly tax conscious, but through sales and excise taxes (70 per cent of Mississippi's receipts), his state would rank second in the nation in the cost of state and local government as a percentage of the average income, which in turn was the lowest in the country ($958). We could also have pointed out that it is the most backward, underdeveloped countries in the world, typically those of South America and Asia, that rely most heavily on the hidden nature of a sales tax. And it is only the most highly developed, literate, and politically responsible peoples of the world who place their main reliance on the self-assessment nature of an income tax.

This is not said to justify the high property taxes of Massachusetts or of any other state. In my opinion the property tax is the most inequitable and antiquated tax base of all and makes about as much sense as it used to for the French to tax the number of windows in a home. The inequities are built into any system of taxation that must rely on unscientific, haphazard guesswork of frequently poorly trained and poorly paid individual assessors.

Although the rule for assessment in Indiana is one-third of fair cash value, assessed valuations on personal property range from five per cent to 105 per cent and "more and more are they the expressions of personal feelings of both assessors and taxpayers," according to Kenneth Lemons, who has assumed the responsibility for writing the first personal property tax assessment manual for the Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners. The last such attempt was made in regard to real estate assessment in 1949, but today there are $100,000 homes in the Indianapolis area that are assessed for less than $10,000 despite the one-third rule, and recently it was found that there were 1,400 homes in a single township that were not even on the assessment rolls.

The 1959 Indiana state legislature sought to correct these inequities when it called for a general state-wide reassessment in 1962, but what the legislators failed to realize was that the inequities will always outrun the best of intentions and refinements and that, today, property ownership is no longer a criterion of wealth or ability to support the functions of government. Often the wealthiest people have retired to the ease of apartment life and pay relatively little in property taxes, whereas home ownership and high property taxes are the only choice for the young family of modest income with school-age children.

Anyway, Governor Furcolo's efforts to ease the property tax burden in Massachusetts met with ignominious defeat as only two Democratic state senators voted for his program. It would appear from the experiences particularly of Michigan and Massachusetts that where entirely new kinds of taxes were proposed (the net income in the former and the sales tax in the latter) the public's antipathy toward taxes in general is too great to allow even for reasonable and well-founded substitutions for present systems. After all, no state has adopted the net income tax in more than 20 years, and most of our state tax systems today are depression-born measures. On the other hand, their failures in this respect might be attributed to the political forces unique to these states. Governor Williams was trying to get a net income tax through a Republican-dominated legislature long opposed to such a tax on principle (a General Motors executive told me in all seriousness that he was for the sales tax because "the poor pay too little and the wealthy are paying 91 per cent"), and Governor Furcolo was asking a Democratic-controlled legislature to forget its traditional opposition to a sales tax.

* * *

But equally important and even more far-reaching was the feeling I had, in talking to anyone on the street about state taxes, that it was not the proposed increase that was the source of irritation but rather that it was a final straw added to an already back-breaking load. Few understood how the load was divided among federal, state, or local taxes. To most it was all a confused conglomeration. And it served no good purpose to try to explain, for instance, that the state of Ohio needed more for public welfare than did Indiana because Ohio bore 50 per cent of these costs whereas Indiana's share was only 20 per cent, with the federal government contributing the greatest part. Unfortunately there was no common yardstick I could provide for each to measure his state's tax burden and performance in relation to another state in ready, meaningful terms.

I was beginning to understand what President Eisenhower meant when he said any further tax increase might "run the risk of civil disobedience." It was also clear why, despite his own warnings against the flagrant use of the borrowing power of the state "because they inflate the cost of capital projects 50 per cent," Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York this year asked the legislature for $277 millions in tax increases and the use of $147 million in borrowed funds. The state's chief economist, William Sharkey, explained to me that the tax increases were "all the governor thought he could ask for at the present time."

As long as a state's credit was good, it could make up for budgetary deficiencies with borrowing. This approach was characteristic of the eastern seaboard states I visited, in contrast to their Midwestern neighbors who were constitutionally prohibited from borrowing except in the most limited fashion. As a result, New York ranked second among all the states in per capita state and local debt, Massachusetts fifth, and Connecticut sixth. Massachusetts had even gone to the extreme of using bond money for the purchase of typewriters.

One of the most outstanding governors in Connecticut's history, Abraham A. Ribicoff, while honoring his 1958 campaign pledge of no new taxes, asked for and received from the legislature authority for the issuance of $402 million in bonds for highway construction and capital improvements in state institutions. Ribicoff apparently disagreed with the economic philosophy of Governor Rockefeller when he noted that the cost of the highway construction would not be so great as it seemed because the state would get back all but $148 million from the federal government and by using borrowed funds they would be able to build a highway system on a "pay-as-we-grow" basis that otherwise "would have to wait more years (fifteen) than we can afford on a 'pay-as-you-go' basis."

Governor Ribicoff's most remarkable accomplishment during the 1959 legislature was the abolition of county government. The functions of virtually all county officials were absorbed by the state and the county sheriff was reduced to a mere process server. At the same time, one hundred sixty state agencies and bureaus were consolidated into sixty-eight. Substantial savings to the taxpayer were certain to flow from these actions, as they have in North Carolina where State Treasurer Edwin Gill told me the state supports, administers, and maintains the entire highway and local educational system. Local units of government may supplement state expenditures through the property tax, but the net result of the system is that the statewide average local property tax is a low $1.09 per $100 of valuation.

Gill also takes pride in the fact that North Carolina is not afflicted with the worst disease of state government finances, that of "dedicating" certain tax collections to specific expenditures, a practice which has been carried to such an extreme in Michigan as to make its financial problem almost insoluble. All revenues in North Carolina go into the general fund and thus can be spent for the most needed projects without being siphoned off into "dedicated" but less imperative fields.

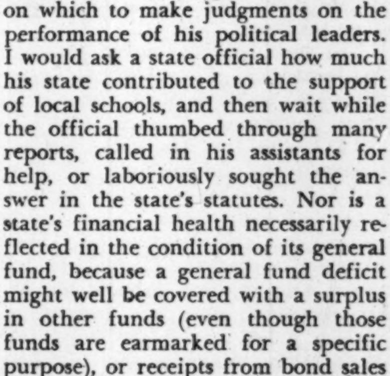
No state is financially bankrupt in the ordinary sense of business usage—where the creditors take over a defunct organization. Its tax collections may not be adequate for its needs, in which case the state will either resort to increased borrowing or balance the budget within current income, as the Massachusetts legislature was forced to do this year with the failure of the sales tax proposal. The net result may be no more obvious than a little noticed change in the position of that state relative to other states.

With professors at Michigan's state universities seeking more stable employment elsewhere, Michigan, for instance, may well lose its number one position in the nation for support of institutions of higher learning. Massachusetts, with no additional income, will have a difficult time getting out from its cellar position in this respect. But there is no question that Connecticut will hold its top rating for expenditures in public highways with the recent huge bond authorization.

The vagaries of statistics are clearly illustrated in the case of Delaware. Recently the Bureau of the Census reported that Delaware had the highest per capita *state* tax in the nation ($149.94). However, if you knew that the state of Delaware, like North Carolina, supported many of the functions of local government, you could find elsewhere in the report that when state taxes were combined with *local* taxes and measured as a percentage of personal income, Delaware ranked last among the states, taking only about five per cent of the average individual's income in taxes, whereas North Dakota was first with twelve per cent. But that is not the whole story. To find it, you would have to look up Delaware's bonded indebtedness, and if you did, you would learn that the reason taxes in that state were so low was that Delaware financed so much of its school and highway costs with borrowed money, and on this basis it placed first among the states.

All this shows how difficult it is for the average citizen to make any intelligible sense out of his state's tax structure or to gain information on which to make judgments on the performance of his political leaders. I would ask a state official how much his state contributed to the support of local schools, and then wait while the official thumbed through many reports, called in his assistants for help, or laboriously sought the answer in the state's statutes. Nor is a state's financial health necessarily reflected in the condition of its general fund, because a general fund deficit might well be covered with a surplus in other funds (even though those funds are earmarked for a specific purpose), or receipts from bond sales might be included in the general fund and thus defy any determination whether that state was living within its means or not.

There is no question that the House Ways and Means Committee will perform a tremendously worthwhile service if it can rewrite our federal income tax laws to bring them within the grasp of the average citizen's understanding. But who is to steer the ship through the rocky shoals of state finances? The federal government may take more of our money, but most of it is going into military or defense-related projects while state and local governments bear the major burden of the cost of civilian functions, including public schools, public health facilities, and highways. Under our federal system, each state is a power unto itself, a little suzerainty, and can create any tax structure it pleases, as long as it does not encroach on interstate commerce.



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Fortune's solution to the problem is for each state to adopt a "balanced" tax structure. It is that magazine's contention that unless every state follows the lead of the twenty that now have a combination of sales *and* net income taxes, it will be impossible to bridge the $8 billion budgetary deficit expected in the next ten years. The difficulties of doing so, bearing the experiences of Michigan and Massachusetts in mind, would appear to be almost insurmountable in the light of the political and psychological barriers.

Yet there are two rays of hope. The first is that Congress will close the gaping loopholes in our federal income tax laws, which would permit a 40 per cent reduction in income tax rates. If nothing more, this would have the effect of making our state and local taxes more palatable. Let no politician or tax expert mistake it: taxes are as psychological in effect as they are financial in origin. If they are not understood or fall too heavily on some and too lightly on others, it is instinctive to condemn the whole structure. Therein lies our second hope, and it will cost us nothing: that our leaders will have the good sense to devise some simple means, such as a state-wide "balance sheet," which can be written on a single sheet of paper, to show us—and perhaps give us pride in—the value we have received for our tax dollar. Assuming a reasonably equitable tax structure, our worst enemy is not a particular tax or its rate, but ignorance.

Toward A More Positive Peace Program

by BYRON JOHNSON

Consider the paradox of peace. For many years it has been popular to say: To have peace, prepare for war. Certainly in the last decade we have prepared for war as never before. As a result, we now live in awe and fear of weapons of fantastically destructive power. Our national survival—all human survival—is at stake. The United States will spend some $45 billion this year "to provide for the common defense." Assuming the world population includes about 2.5 billion persons, we will spend $18 for every man, woman, and child on the face of the globe in preparing for man's destruction by weapons more powerful and swift than any ever developed before. The rest of the world is spending a similar amount. We now have in our arsenal weapons which, if used, would prevent most of us from having any posterity who might enjoy the blessings of that liberty which our government exists to provide.

We are building these instruments of terror out of fear of Communism. There are those who fear that the Communists would conquer the world if it were not for our military might. The tragic truth is that the Communists have conquered a significant portion of the world since World War II, notwithstanding our military might. For Communism is a kind of new "religion" with a fanatic zeal. Its conquests have come largely from within each nation. Our weapons of terror and massive retaliation have been powerless to contain it. Indeed, our dogged reliance on these weapons as a policy of containment may have contributed to Communist success.

As the meaning of "common defense" has changed, the time has come to reexamine the paradox. Does our power, through armaments, achieve our peaceful purpose? The final effectiveness of power is measured by its ability to accomplish the purpose sought.

Our stated national purposes are clear and laudable. We want freedom and strength at home; we want to preserve and extend freedom and democracy abroad. We seek to strengthen the so-called free or uncommitted nations in order to contain Communism. We seek to build a stronger international community through international organization. Some speak of extending the rule of world law. I submit that our tools of violent power are unable to achieve these purposes.

Nor have we been saved through "pactomania." The United States now has eight security treaties in force, including ANZUS, SEATO, NATO, and the Rio Pact. We encouraged but did not join the Bagdad Pact. We have bilateral treaties with Nationalist China, Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines. These have not stopped the Communist advance. Our military support has often increased graft and corruption abroad; it has invited and supported dictatorships. Some of our bilateral agreements have in fact embarrassed and led to the downfall of those friendly administrations that have become partners in them. Our obsession with armaments has crippled the remainder of our own budget. We have trimmed essential programs at home; we have been timid about constructive programs overseas. Our power has been so badly used as to retard, if not destroy, our purposes. We do not feel secure.

Yet no one can deny that the ordinary American, like the common citizen of every land, sincerely seeks peace. How shall he find it?

There is mounting evidence that the Communist offensive now is one of economic aid and penetration. Yet our own budget for economic aid, technical assistance, refugee programs, educational exchange, atoms for peace, donations of agricultural surpluses, and the Development Loan Fund, is little more than $1.4 billion. While this averages $8 for each American citizen, it is only 50 cents for every man, woman, and child on earth.

As a nation we do not lack good counsel. The Pittsburgh Conference of the National Council of Churches stated in 1956: "As we look beyond the borders of our own country we find a world where millions of people are hungry or ill fed. No people can call itself Christian, if, possessing the means of abundance, it fails to exert every effort within its power to relieve want wherever it exists. No people can live in isolated plenty in the midst of a needy world and expect to avoid the withering of its Christian spirit. As stewards of abundance, owing all to God, we must with simple justice and brotherhood share with those in need."

The Council said we "must choose to wage peace and to do all in our power to prevent war . . . National armament can never bring any permanent peace. It can do no more than buy time in which to wage peace . . ."

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Adlai Stevenson has suggested that we must "confront as constructively as we can the vast revolution sweeping our planet." He notes that a portion of the human race in pre-industrial economies has little means of expanding to meet the rising flood of population; and time to modernize, he says, is as much a condition of survival as is avoiding war.

With growing populations the poor get poorer. Stevenson suggests "we must address ourselves to this problem with the same urgency as our national defense . . . A sustained long-

BYRON L. JOHNSON, Democratic Congressman from Colorado, is one of the leaders of the band of House liberals fighting for a more creative American foreign policy.

term effort to draw the underdeveloped peoples through the portals of modernization to give them an alternative to the Communist method of forced development must be the central objective in any Western policy toward the uncommitted third of the world."

George Kennan has offered sober counsel that "our policies must take into account the interests of the people under Communist rule as well as those of their governments . . . not even the greatest conviction of righteousness in our purposes absolves us from the obligation of a decency in method. If we allow ourselves to copy our adversary's methods as a means of combating him we may have lost the battle before we start. For this is, after all, what is most essentially at stake."

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These and many other voices in recent months call for a reexamination of our policies. Clearly we need an *affirmative* peace program. The negative program will not do. The time we are buying is running out, as General Omar Bradley has warned, "with the speed of a Sputnik." Recognition of this fact may account for the thaw now taking place in both East and West.

In its place we need a positive peace program. This must rest on four foundations:

One. Its legal foundation must be sound. It must build toward a rule of world law through an expanded or otherwise revised United Nations framework. Organizing for world law would not be a denial of our sovereignty, but an exercise of it. As sovereign citizens, we can exercise our sovereignty over interstate affairs only by operating our federal government. By the same logic, the only way we can make effective our sovereign will to create a peaceful pattern of international relations is to pool with the human race that part of our sovereignty involving world affairs. Until that can be accomplished, we must continue to operate through the United Nations as it is now—a league of states—each of which asserts sovereign power over international affairs.

We must recognize that the world family cannot banish its prodigal sons forever from the household. Membership in the United Nations must be truly universal. Every nation should be welcomed, even the dictatorships and Communist states. There are difficulties in this course of action, but there are greater difficulties in refusing to accept it.

It is common for American spokesmen to speak of our need to strengthen the United Nations. Yet in our haste, as well as in our anti-Communism, we frequently pursue a series of bilateral or other arrangements outside the United Nations. We would create a stronger position for ourselves if we would urge United Nations consideration of threats to the peace early, not after foreign ministers' conferences have become evident failures. By strengthening the United Nations, we draw each nation more closely into the family of nations. Great as are the difficulties and risks of working through the United Nations, even greater are the rewards. The success of our own United States is a witness to an earlier triumph of hope and faith over fear and doubt.

Many United Nations activities operate now without full participation by Communist nations, but the door remains open. The prodigal may return when he chooses to do so. If our ultimate object is truly world peace, how much better this is than to create an exclusive club or fraternity outside the United Nations.

It will be said that such a course is too risky, or too expensive. I submit that nuclear war between the major powers would be an infinitely greater risk and can be indulged in only at infinitely greater cost. The time to act was yesterday. Creative opportunities have already been missed many times in recent years. How much longer constructive options will remain available can only be conjectured. The safest and most prudent time to move forward in a constructive program for peace is right now—today. Tomorrow may be too late.

Our common defense can be insured only by waging peace, because there will be no military victories in this nuclear age. Therefore, our investment in developing a peaceful world through law expresses, in fact, our first concern for the common defense.

Two. The psychological foundation of a positive peace program must be sound. We must build our policy on faith rather than on fear. We must cooperate with other nations to help them achieve their best interests, because this will also be our own best long-run interest. If we help others for purely short-run selfish reasons, our purposes will be defeated. The difficulties that will exist along this course must be met with patience and calmness. If we would be true to our own heritage, then we must give evidence of our confidence that among peoples as among persons, a generous and self-giving love will conquer hatred; that unselfish friendship will conquer enmity. Only as we develop maturity of understanding, under wise leadership, can we hold steadily to such a course of action, confident that it is right, and will win in the end.

No one familiar with Communism or Communists is entitled naively to believe that peace in our generation means total absence of tension between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. In our generation we can only hope that the balance of terror will cause both contestants to prefer co-existence to co-extinction.

We must seek to compete within a framework of law and of order. Hopefully, that competition will one day be no more violent than today's competition between Republicans and Democrats, or perhaps between Catholics and Protestants. The consequences to the human race of the alternative choices are so devastatingly final that we must come to a civilized accord—even though it be no more than an agreement to disagree. We must contend for loyalties in a manner which preserves our capacity to go on contending.

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The history of the human race did not begin with capitalism, nor will it end with Communism. We must develop a sense of history and an historical perspective adequate to the challenges of these times. The church of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob has been with us twice as long as the Church of Christ. And the Church of Christ has been with us 1,900 years, through every kind of political, economic, and social system. Knowledge and appreciation of this history are healthy antidotes to the temptation to equate virtue, morality, progress, truth, and beauty with Twentieth Century American capitalism. The short view is a snare, tempting us to surrender life, or destroy the race, for what are, in historic terms, only transient institutions.

The continued existence of mankind on earth is a value far greater than a transient devotion of a given generation or nation to its own political or economic system. Institutions, like law, are made for man, not man for the law. We must never hold any institution or system on a scale higher than human life itself. We have properly criticized fascists and communists alike for this very error. It would be supreme tragedy if we should now embrace the view that the genocide of nuclear war was preferable to having part of the race living under institutions we do not fully understand or accept. The long view of history assures us that others will change their institutions even as we have changed our own. A constructive and peaceful foreign policy must maintain the long view of history.

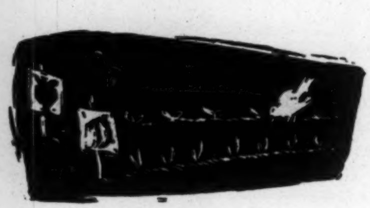
Three. The economic foundations of peace must be sound. The United States should offer to join the other nations of the world in an all-out assault on man's ancient enemies—hunger, misery, illiteracy, disease, and poverty. A small portion of what we now spend annually through our military budget would be sufficient as our contribution to that end. This generation has it within its power to attack these enemies successfully. The accomplishments of the World Health Organization, in wiping out typhus in large areas, illustrate how a small amount can go a long way.

Extension of those constructive programs already in operation would be sufficient, but they must be made adequate in amount, continuing in time, and multilateral in operation. A few hundred million dollars a year is not enough. We must offer to underwrite our portion of this program over an extended period of years. We must be willing to cooperate with all nations who will join the attack. The suggestion by Representative Leonard G. Wolf, Iowa Democrat, that our surplus food be shared in a Food for Peace plan underwritten for ten years and operated under the United Nations, is the right approach. The proposal to put the Development Loan Fund on a five-year basis is also the sort of tangible demonstration that would transfer our fine words into constructive deeds.

Our own commercial trade policies for imports and exports should adhere to a pattern which expands freedom for both producers and consumers to trade profitably across national boundaries. It is hardly likely that this Administration will in its closing days set forth such imaginative and constructive goals. The President, in his seventh (1959) State of the Union message, proposed a national commission to set forth our national goals. How much better had he forthrightly announced as our goal worldwide cooperation in abolishing poverty in this generation. The United States cannot do this alone, but it could make a significant contribution and set a compelling example.

Suppose that our reliance on terror were replaced by a growing reliance on world law; and suppose that the self-interest of each nation were being expressed through all joining hands in an increasingly interdependent world? Under such circumstances we might reduce our military budget until it was no more than we would be spending constructively to advance human welfare around the world. Whatever the reduction, whether $10 billion or $30 billion, as it might become, I suggest it be divided three ways—the first portion to underwrite a world-wide assault on poverty, with emphasis on the uncommitted nations. We may be sure that, if we do not launch this attack, it will be launched within the next decade by the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc. In that event, we will have missed our last chance in this century to influence world history constructively.

Another portion of the saving should be applied to the unfinished business at home—adequate schools and colleges, adequate transportation systems, adequate correctional, charitable, and health institutions, adequate park and recreational facilities. We should provide our own with more of the blessings our technology makes possible.



The remaining portion should be used for debt reduction and tax reform. By reducing taxes, we would return to the people a greater measure of sovereignty over their own consumption patterns.

* * *

Our present policy of military assistance weakens a poor nation's economy. The cost of maintaining men and materiel of modern war diverts precious resources in poor countries to wasteful purposes. These resources might better be employed in building the educational plant, the highways and harbors, the water works and power plants, vitally needed in many such countries. Even worse, military assistance tends to promote to power those who possess the means of violence. Thus, in the name of anti-Communism, we appear to prove basic Marxist allegations that the capitalist state is the sole possessor of the instruments of violence for oppressing the masses. Our bolstering of colonialism and our support of corrupt candidates in the name of anti-Communism creates the very revolutionary situations Lenin urged his followers to seek. Simple prudence, if not genius or wisdom, should cause us to read more carefully the works of our adversary, and to understand that his behavior is designed to tempt us into paths which serve his purposes, not ours.

Four. The philosophical base of a positive peace program must be sound. Peace will not break out like the dawn over the eastern horizon. Rather, it is an edifice that must patiently be built brick by brick and stone by stone. Peace will be built by the gradual realization in the minds of men that they can live with each other, and accomplish their valid objectives without war or violence. This requires that understanding be developed among the peoples of the earth. Such understanding can be built only by constructively increasing contacts among all people.

This requires us to remove one by one the barriers to such contacts. Patiently, we must remove the present sources of tension, fear, and hatred between peoples. Sometimes we cannot remove tension, but here one can lessen its chances of erupting in violence. The United States should patiently pursue not merely an end to bomb testing, but an end to the arms race itself. It is our obligation to place threats to the peace before the United Nations. We should seek a universal reduction in arms budgets in order that every nation may be freer to pursue the works of peace. These things should be recorded not merely in occasional, pious speeches, but more fundamentally in government budget documents and appropriations acts, as well as in international conferences.

We must never so demean our opponents as to assume they lack a common humanity. When we do, we demonstrate our own lack of the virtue of humility and suffer spiritual arrogance. Perhaps the most important consequence of the increasing visiting now going on between East and West is the rediscovery that people are essentially the same everywhere.

Unhappily, we are tempted by our rich material blessings and our technical accomplishments to develop a cultural and intellectual arrogance that is a stumbling block to our success in dealing with others. It has been given to us to conquer the secret of the invisible atom; it has been given to us to launch scientific instruments in outer space. It has been given to us to live at once in a technological, a scientific, an economic, a social, and a political revolution.

We are told in the book of Genesis that Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden because they had eaten of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Surely this generation has eaten of such a tree in its atomic discoveries.

Man today faces an unprecedented choice. Placing his faith in atomic weaponry, he can precipitate the total destruction of every living thing. Or, placing his faith in constructive and positive programs, he can bring peace, prosperity, and undreamed-of opportunity to every human being on this earth. Has he the patience, the courage, and the wisdom to make the right choice?

The Man Was Dangerous

by Robert Goldburg

HE WAS a meek man; there was no arrogance in him and he disliked calling attention to himself. When he spoke, he spoke softly—and he believed with a sure conviction that he spoke the will of his Father in heaven. He really had only one theme—but people misunderstood him. For in a violent age, the theme of peace if repeated enough makes a man suspect.

A man who says things like "turn the other cheek" and does so himself disturbs his fellow-man.

A man who believes we should love our enemies is asking too much of any generation.

Such a man was dangerous. The State can tolerate people of this kind only when it feels secure, but the State must look to its security, and a man like this must be made a lesson—lest others learn his ways.

Not only this, he gathered together like-minded people. He never asked who they were, what they believed, where they came from. He just said to them: "Come, and let us talk peace."

And it came to pass that all these things were brought to the ear of the State and the great authorities—and they commanded the teacher of peace to come before them. They questioned him, but finding no malice in the man and no basis to judge him guilty of any crime, nor harboring any evil intent, they bethought themselves.

Yet this man was a danger, and an example must be made. So they devised a way to entrap him. They said to the teacher, give us the names of your disciples, of those who come to hear you speak and those who talk peace with you. We have reason to believe that they are guilty of treason and are a danger to our State's majesty.

But the gentle teacher said: "This I cannot do for how can I turn over to you the names of those who came to me in trust and confidence, knowing that they would be brought before you and harassed and made afraid?"

Then they tried to persuade him, and offered him reward if he would say "Yea" and threatened him with punishment if he should say "Nay." But he said: "My conscience which is from God prevents me from doing such a thing as this," and although the punishment frightened him—for he was a meek man—he said: "I believe with a perfect faith that as God is my witness, you are committing an injustice, but I ask His forgiveness upon you."

There were a few who lifted up their voices, and some went quietly to the place where he was sentenced. They stood on the outside in silent prayer. Then the deed was done, sentence was pronounced, all in accordance with the law and all its formalities—and they led the teacher away.

All of these things that I have related happened not in Judea of long ago, but on Monday, December 14, 1959 of the Christian era, in the State of New Hampshire in the United States of America.

The teacher, the Reverend Willard Uphaus, was taken to the common jail for a year of his life. He is about seventy years old. For the crime of not turning over the names of the guests of the World Peace Fellowship in Conway, New Hampshire—the State exacted the penalty.

Within a few days those who sentenced him attended their churches and celebrated with proper pomp and ceremony the birthday of their Savior, whom they call Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace. At least He is beyond their reach. He is dead and threatens them not. They can sing hymns in His name, but woe to those in any generation that walk in His paths.

(From a sermon prepared by Rabbi Goldburg of the Congregation Mishkan Israel, New Haven.)

Death Equals Freedom

by DANIEL TALBOT

WHAT IS IT like to learn that we have cancer? That we will die within a year? Does this awful knowledge provoke acts of terror, beauty, courage? Do we discover the unalterable truth that we have taken too much for granted in our lives? Do we find ourselves, in these petty, narrowing times, paying more attention to boring, meaningless work and enslaving compulsions than to the endless El Dorados of creative energy within ourselves that beg to be discovered and tapped for the good of self and society? What does it really mean *to live*? Is life, roughly speaking, more "natural" (in the brute, animal sense) than "spiritual?" And if we *know* that the life of man is inherently more spiritual than natural, why *don't* we spring our traps and exploit the infinite freedoms of an unfettered spirit?

When these philosophic considerations show up in a movie we must, as a rule, exercise caution, if not downright suspicion, in our appraisal, inasmuch as they require the tool of closely reasoned words. Yet, upon rare occasions there are films, like *Umberto D, Bicycle Thief, Grand Illusion,* and *Citizen Kane,* that transcend visual imagery and tell us something about life which, to paraphrase Stefan Zweig, increases the measure of truth in the universe.

Now, from Japan, comes a film which has to do with these very things: *Ikuru* (literally, in Japanese, "to live" but known in America as *Doomed* or *Living)* by Akira Kurosawa (creator of *Rashomon, Drunken Angel,* and *The Men Who Tread on The Tiger's Tail,* among others). This great Japanese film was made in 1952 but is now being shown for the first time in the United States.

The story concerns an old man who, though told by a doctor that he has an ulcer, knows intuitively that he has stomach cancer. The knowledge shatters him. He hides it from his son and daughter-in-law and his associates at the Citizens Section of City Hall, of which he is the chief. He feigns going to work every morning and wanders around the city in a state of shock. One night he meets a "writer of trashy novels," tells him about the cancer, and, at the writer's suggestion, they decide to paint the town red. They wander from bar to bar, dance hall to dance hall, watch a strip act, pick up two prostitutes. At the end of this pleasure binge, the usual letdown occurs.

A few weeks later, a young girl who works in his office comes to his home to get him to sign her resignation. He induces her to spend her free time with him. They go out for dinner every night, listen to music, and walk around. It is not a romance: he simply wishes to *be* in the company of a youthful girl. The gossip at his home and office is that he is having a shameful affair. By now he has come to terms with his situation and, desiring to spend his remaining months in the creation of something meaningful, he returns to his office. Through patience, perseverance, and a sustained hacking away at the dense bureaucratic jungle of City Hall, he fathers a playground for children. And then he dies.

It is at his wake that the glory of this man and the smallness and meanness of those around him are revealed, through a series of arresting flashbacks. The son and daughter-in-law were concerned only with getting the old man's money and considered him selfish for spending it on the young girl. Of course, he not only leaves sufficient money for them to buy a new house, but it comes out that he had worked for thirty years in a stifling job *only* because he wanted to provide a better life for his son, whom he adored. As for the playground, the unctuous City Hall officials at the wake each try to claim credit in the eyes of the press and among themselves. The truth, abetted by alcohol and an official who knows the inside story, finally emerges.

* * *

The film is constructed on two major pinwheels of flashbacks, with frenzied cutting in each one. They build swiftly and consecutively into one image: the haunting, wracked, life-thirsting face of Watanaki-san (played superbly by Takashi Shimura, who will be remembered for his role as the woodcutter in *Rashomon).* This man's face is saying: I know I am going to die and therefore I feel life—pulsating life!—in everything, every second, everywhere!

The magnificence of this film is in its totally unvarnished image of the physical sensation of being. Given a cancer victim as the core of a story, how easily it could have lapsed into the sheerest soap opera. But as you follow Watanaki-san's nightmare voyage, you feel you are in the presence of an indestructible human being. He refuses to submit to death, he makes a worship of his remaining days on earth—indeed it is the very notion of death-on-his-doorstep that brings him the first full bucket of freedom he has ever dipped into.

DANIEL TALBOT, editor of the newly published "Film: An Anthology," served for three years as Eastern story editor for Warner Brothers. He recently returned from Spain, where he spent a year writing and working on a film.

Everything the hero does is inspired by the urgencies of life: when told by a cancer patient what the painful symptoms are, Watanaki-san groans maniacally in protest; the clang of an alarm clock, which reminds him of the passage of time, sends him diving under the bed cover in retreat; the loss of his hat makes him fly after it in a thick crowd; and after being mired in a red-taped City Hall, whose sole function, it appears, is to keep anything from happening anywhere, he pursues city officials like a man possessed to bring about the playground project. His life is so enhanced by senses of purpose that the irony of his situation is tripled.

The imagery is as vivid as the idea of this film, particularly in the final flashback sequence. As the hero's last days at City Hall are reconstructed by the officials at the wake, the scene shifts frantically between Watanaki-san scurrying about the halls and the officials laughing and then crying out of guilt. The drunker they become the more avid the hero (in flashback) appears. The camera—restless as a wild stallion—seems to have been taken over by Watanaki-san himself. And within this restlessness, there is restraint, immediate contrast, and a sense of the divinely delicate.

Beyond this there are sharp glimpses of postwar disillusion and despair in Japan. Some of the young people are portrayed as cynical, interested only in money and a plodding security; others go in for kicks of various kinds— booze, girls, crowd milling—in a state of utter confusion and stupor; the petty bureaucrats sit at long tables buried under tons of documents, sunk forever in the apathy of the clerk's world; and what could be more pathetic than a bunch of mediocre officials clamoring for a little attention and credit?

At this writing, the United States Customs authorities have delayed the importation of the picture on the ground that one sequence is obscene. It appears, however, that the picture will play the circuit, and for this we can only be grateful to the efforts of Thomas J. Brandon, who is not only presenting this truly important film, but all the other interesting films in the Japanese Festival that have run recently at the Little Carnegie in New York City.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Nixon and Responsibility

Dear Sirs:

I disagree with Vice President Nixon's statement that "any objective observer would have to agree that there could be nothing more irresponsible than to place before the Congress in an election year the complicated and potentially explosive issue of labor-management relations."

I have never considered it "irresponsible" to place an issue of grave public importance before the elected representatives of the people.

Does Nixon actually believe that the prospect of an election year would make Congressmen *less* responsible to the wishes of the voters? Since an election year serves to remind Congressmen that their primary responsibility is to the voters who elect them, I fail to see how an election year would make the Congress "irresponsible."

It appears to me that when Vice President Nixon discusses responsibility, he does not mean responsibility to the electorate.

ELIZABETH BRYAN
Cambridge, Mass.

Nixon and Lincoln

Dear Sirs:

I have read that Vice-President Nixon will open his campaign for the GOP Presidential nomination on the 100th Anniversary celebration of the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

Is this a master-stroke of audacity, or does this moral cripple think he is even worthy of polishing the boots of Abraham Lincoln? I am sure that anyone who has the faintest purview of the background of this master of McCarthyistic smear, deceit, hyperbole, and innuendo would agree that Nixon would not make a pimple on the benevolent chin of Abraham Lincoln. Poor Abe. He must be rotating in his grave like a whirling dervish!

CURT BARTZ
Chippewa Falls, Wis.

Democrats Lack Ideals

Dear Sirs:

I have written the following letter to Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee:

"In reply to your recent letter of solicitation I just want to say what I think of the Democratic Party as a party. I do believe I can speak for quite a few other Democrats with whom I have talked. I have no idea of how the millions of people feel.

"Several things I find wrong. One is that our political parties exist for the parties, not for the welfare of people. The party is the first consideration.

"Second, the parties want to win merely by throwing mud at the other party.

"Third, I do not see that the Democratic Party now has any high motives or ideals to put before the people. It doesn't stand for anything that we can sincerely admire, and this at a time in history when the world is desperately needing leadership.

"The Democratic Party is trying to outdo the Republican in furthering the warlike spirit in huge appropriations for the Army, at the very time when thoughtful people throughout the world want peace.

"From now on, as many have remarked to me, we can only try to find candidates whose thoughts are positive and lofty enough to satisfy us, in whatever party they are."

OLAUS J. MURIE
Moose, Wyoming

Democratic Betrayal

Dear Sirs:

The editors of *The Progressive* must certainly realize that the Democratic Party in the last Congress betrayed the mandate it received from the American people in the last election. Lyndon Johnson was the chief of the betrayers. What candidate can the Democratic Party put up and elect to the Presidency who is not tarred with that betrayal?

What assurance do we have that a combination of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans will not continue to betray the mandate of the American people no matter what man is elected President?

In view of this, does it make much difference whether Slippery Dick or Humphrey or Kennedy or Symington gets to the White House? *The Progressive* should be perfectly candid regarding this situation and not lead its readers to expect too much from the election of any candidate.

WILLIAM E. ZEUCH
Romoland, Calif.

Distorted Analysis

Dear Sirs:

Maurice Goldbloom's absentee "analysis" of Laos in your December issue constitutes a highly distorted selection of press comments obviously tailored to fit his own preconceptions. A few observations may serve to illustrate how fallacious Mr. Goldbloom's facts and conclusions really are:

He continually refers to the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreement. Presumably he means the communique which was issued by all parties to the conference, except South Vietnam and the United States, at the conclusion of the conference. This communique was never signed by the remaining parties; it merely embodies a series of suggestions; and it has no legal status whatsoever. The only document emerging from the Geneva Conference which carries legal weight is the truce agreement signed by representatives of France and the Viet Minh Communists who now rule North Vietnam.

Moreover, according to virtually every observer, including the Canadian and Indian members of the International Control Commission overseeing the truce, North Vietnam has continually and ruthlessly violated the terms of the truce agreement and of the communique. The list of North Vietnam's violations by now covers several hundred pages, much of which has been published by the Foreign Office of Great Britain, one of the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference.

Possibly the Laotian government exaggerated the extent of North Vietnamese involvement in the actual fighting (or was itself misled by some of its field commanders). But, if one accepts the premise that Communist aims in Asia and elsewhere are predominantly those of dominion, and if one is familiar with recent developments in the region, then the inescapable conclusion is that the North Vietnamese are actively involved in what Mr. Goldbloom chooses to describe as an "internal affair."

Vietnamese Communists are assisting in the training and supplying of Laotian guerrillas, many of whom received their initial indoctrination in Red China or in North Vietnam. North Vietnamese soil is being used as a base of military operations to support this "revolt." North Vietnam is providing substantial moral and propaganda support, including bitter attacks on the Laotian government and the United States.

Most astonishing is Mr. Goldbloom's assertion that the West, including the United States, has no right to assist Laos in this "internal" affair, whereas North Vietnam is perfectly justified in becoming involved in any way it chooses—perhaps short of actual military troops—and that it has a more authoritative voice to which right-minded Americans should respond than that of our own government or the present Laotian Government.

The nature of Communist designs in Asia today requires the West to come to the aid of any duly constituted government whose nation is threatened by Communist expansion, overt or subversive, provided that the government invites the West to do so.

To argue, as Mr Goldbloom chooses, that Laos is too small and too poor to risk fighting for is the ultimate contradiction of the liberal's philosophy. Is not freedom indivisible? Or is it only indivisible when the aggressor is from the right wing of the political spectrum? This, unfortunately, seems to be the creed of many "liberals" today.

Gilbert Jonas
New York, N.Y.

Goldbloom Replies

Dear Sirs:

It seems a pity that before challenging my article Gilbert Jonas didn't take the trouble to read it carefully. If he had done so, he would know that I did not "argue . . . that Laos is too small and too poor to risk fighting for." I *did* cite the unimportance of Laos against those who assert that for strategic reasons we must be prepared to fight so that "two million Laotians . . . *do not get a chance to vote for Communists in free elections under international supervision.*"

There are, of course, people—I do not know whether Mr. Jonas is one of them—who believe that all weapons are legitimate in the fight against Communism, and that we must never allow Communists to come to power anywhere, even by the free vote of the people concerned. This is an arguable position, but to me it seems a morally wrong and politically disastrous one.

Mr. Jonas is certainly no more astonished than I at "Mr. Goldbloom's assertion that the West . . . has no right to assist Laos in this 'internal' affair, whereas North Vietnam is perfectly justified in becoming involved in any way it chooses . . .", etc., since nowhere in my article is such an assertion, or anything resembling it, to be found. I have no interest in whitewashing the government of North Vietnam, and certainly do not regard it (or Mr. Jonas) as an "authoritative voice to which right-minded Americans should respond"!

As to my sources: of course I have "selected" from among the available press reports—not "comments"—since a verbatim reproduction of all of them would have been impossible even if desirable. But they were not distorted, as anyone who chooses to run through the complete file of the New York *Times* can see for himself. (To be sure, some people might feel I was guilty of distortion in not citing any Communist or pro-Communist sources; I doubt, however, if this is what Mr. Jonas means.)

By the Geneva agreement, or the agreement reached at the Geneva Conference, I meant primarily the "Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos" signed between the French military which, in the words of our State Department, "represented the interests of Laos," and the Pathet Lao. Mr. Jonas appears not to have heard of this document; if it is too much trouble for him to look up its entire text, its most important points are readily available in the State Department publication *The Situation in Laos.*

There also he will find two declarations made by the government of Laos at the time, pledging internal democracy and adherence to a policy of military non-alignment, and a summary of the final Declaration—not "communique"—of the Conference, taking note of the Laotian declarations and pledging all parties to the conference to refrain from interfering in each other's affairs. The Laotian declarations and the Final Declaration represent an acceptance and interpretation of the armistice terms on the part of the Laotian government.

Since my article was written, a good deal of additional material has become available, and a good many events have taken place, all apparently without attracting Mr. Jonas's notice. The text of the United Nations report has become available, pointing up the absence of any evidence of North Vietnamese participation in the fighting of Laos.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold has secured an agreement from the Laotian government to a policy of internal reconciliation. The economic expert he assigned to Laos has reported that the American aid given that country has been of no benefit to its economy. And numerous additional newspaper reports have appeared—I particularly recommend that Mr. Jonas read the series of articles by Jim Lucas in the Scripps-Howard papers—which are far more critical of the Laotian government and army, and of the American operation in Laos, than I have been.

Maurice J. Goldbloom
New York, N.Y.

Thanks from Little Rock

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of the entire Women's Emergency Committee, may I express our deep appreciation for your interest in our work, and thank you for the Holiday Greeting to us in your January issue. These words will cheer us on to renewed courage and effort to preserve our public school system not only in Little Rock but throughout Arkansas.

I assure you that the dedication, talents, and energies of our women have been an inspiration, and it has been a privilege to be their chairman. Any praise or credit bestowed on me must be spread among hundreds of our group. And so, for all of us, I send you our gratitude and every good wish for your continued success and for peace for all of us in 1960.

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
For Public Schools
Little Rock, Ark.

More Made-Up Quotes

Dear Sirs:

"Reverend" Gerald L. K. Smith recently sent me a form letter soliciting funds for his "Christian Nationalist Crusade," enclosing slips of paper on which the unverifiable Manuilsky "quotation" was reproduced with the sketch of a clenched fist. In the text of the letter he quoted Khrushchev as vowing revenge on Americans who opposed his visit to their country and saying, "The day will come when we will fry these men like little devils on a skillet."

I wrote to Harrison E. Salisbury, the New

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York *Times* expert on the Soviet Union about this, and he replied: "Of course Mr. K. never said such a thing! It is just those little devils making up fresh and lively misquotes again."

A Bostonian wrote me that an article in the *Reader's Digest* reported that children working in Soviet candy factories were given the death penalty for stealing one single piece of candy. This was carefully documented from a certain issue and page of *Pravda*.

Being able to read Russian, she went to the Boston Public Library, got that issue of *Pravda* and read it carefully. It contained nothing about the children or candy factories. She wrote to the *Reader's Digest* editors, informing them of this. They replied with a curt note, merely changing the documentation to an issue of *Pravda* which came out before the United States recognized the USSR and before the Boston Public Library started subscribing to *Pravda*.

Alice Franklin Bryant
Seattle, Wash.

Admires Reichley Article

Dear Sirs:

I wish to express my high admiration for James Reichley's "Battle at the Back Door," in your January issue. It is one of the best non-technical analyses of a complex political and budgetary problem that I have ever read. *The Progressive* is at its best in casting some light on unpublicized but highly significant issues like that of public debt transactions.

Robert H. Clarke
Princeton Graduate School
Princeton, N.J.

The Banks Ride High

Dear Sirs:

The first message that President Eisenhower sent to Congress was the urgent request that the interest limit of 4.25 per cent on long-term loans be eliminated even though a few days earlier in his State of the Union message he stated that interest cost is now $9.5 billion.

The headline in the January 3 issue of the New York *Times* reads: Banks Will Show Record Earnings; in the January 6 issue: Net Soars By 16 Per Cent For Chase Bank; and in the January 7 issue: Chemical Bank Raises Net 12 Per Cent.

Are the banks operating only for their own individual interests rather than the long-term welfare of our country when, as reported in the *Times*, every major bank has reduced its holdings of U.S. government securities?

Have they sold the lower interest-bearing securities already certain they can buy higher interest bearing bonds, wholly indifferent to the inflationary effects and fully subscribing to the fallacious slogan—What's good for the banks is good for the country?

Nine of the banks reporting: First National City, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Bankers Trust, Irving Trust, Hanover, First National of Chicago and Mellon National of Pittsburgh held U.S. government securities at the end of 1958 totaling more than $7.5 billion whereas at the close of 1959, the total was $5 billion, a decrease of 31.5 per cent.

All we can hope is that Congress will get a tabulation which shows the holdings of all banks for the two years and determine whether there has been concerted action. It may be that our Congress is aware of its function to serve the people—all the people!

William P. Engel
Bentonville, Ark.

News Monopoly Growing

Dear Sirs:

The Progressive is like a beacon light to a distressed ship at sea, because of your frank and liberal discussion on all controversial subjects. We are in a rut in this country with over 1450 daily newspapers in "one-newspaper towns,"—one man or company dictating what the people shall read. And the trend toward monopoly control of news and public opinion is increasing.

These newspapers have a tendency to distort the news, suppress or "bury" the news in back pages, especially during political campaigns. They report at length with the news "shaded" or disorganized in such a way that readers are confused instead of enlightened.

Speaking at a Washington, D.C., meeting of the American Psychological Association, Dr. Richard P. Barthol, professor of psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles, pointed out some clear and present dangers facing the American people. Perhaps the greatest danger, he said, is "the growing trend toward newspaper consolidation." The number of independent newspapers is shrinking at an appalling rate.

"We can demonstrate in the laboratory and in the field," Dr. Barthol said, "that a single point of view presented insistently can and does change beliefs and attitudes." He further stated that the average American does not have much chance to form opinions "when this country has a one party press."

May you continue in a blaze of glory for the next fifty years.

Harry L. Fries
Walkerton, Ind.

Schickel an 'Angry Child'

Dear Sirs:

I am howling angry about a review of Norman Mailer's *Advertisements for Myself*, by Richard Schickel in the December issue. If the review had appeared in a college paper, I would dismiss it as the growing pains of an angry young idiot who might, or might not, develop some judgment when or if he matures. But *The Progressive*, as a national magazine of fifty years publishing history, has a responsibility to the reading public which far exceeds the responsibility of a college newspaper, particularly in the area of book reviewing. If so important a magazine as yours cannot get a competent person to review a book, then you should merely note its publication and decline to print a review.

I would like to make a few suggestions for the future:

In the future, please seek qualified adults to review books. Avoid children as reviewers; especially avoid angry young children who are still thinking with their glands and haven't learned to react intelligently to the world of reality.

Urge all of your reviewers to read Granville Hicks' article on book reviewing in the December 12, 1959 issue of *Saturday Review*.

Urge young Schickel to take a Miltown and calmly read Granville Hicks' review of *Advertisements for Myself* in the November 7, 1959 *Saturday Review*. That is an example of a perceptive, adult review. Then Schickel should get a job which contributes in some positive way to the support of whatever society he chooses to be a part of, get married, raise a family, and then after about twenty years of such maturing experiences, consider again offering his services as a reviewer.

Guy H. Raner, Jr.
Reseda, Calif.

Warning Voice

Dear Sirs:

In viewing a television program about Hitler's Germany and suddenly realizing how far away it seemed to me (though I was an infantryman in Europe)—it was almost impossible for my five children (7 to 16) to grasp the importance and know the terror of what they saw.

It occurred to me that it was most important to keep alive any voice that warned sincerely what *could* happen—then and there I made my small contribution to *The Progressive*. I think my children will need it and others like it to help them in the future.

Maurice Taksel
McKeesport, Pa.

How to Back the Vigil

Dear Sirs:

I enjoyed Milton Mayer's clever article on the Vigil at Fort Detrick, in the January *Progressive*.

Unfortunately, Mayer neglected to give the address of the Vigil headquarters in Frederick, Maryland. For those who feel moved to make contributions to the Vigil, or to arrange to take part in it, the address is: 324 West Patrick St., Frederick, Maryland. Telephone MOnument 2-5721.

As one who recently stood in the Vigil line outside the main gates of Fort Detrick, I can assure you that the Vigil is a moving experience which needs urgently to be continued. Its continued witness against germ warfare production and stockpiling by our army depends on financial contributions and the personal effort of anyone and everyone who is willing to go to Frederick and stand with the others in front of the Fort.

All the work is done by volunteers who must come from among those of us who feel some personal responsibility to see that the Vigil does not fade out, especially during the cold winter months and early spring, when few are willing to stand for five hours (in shifts) in the cold.

James B. Osgood
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

We are heartened that Milton Mayer told the brave ones standing at Fort Detrick as a protest against chemical, radiological, and bacterial warfare preparations to move over and make room for another shareholder.

There are some millions of us who ought to be doing the same thing but we are not yet that brave or unselfish. We could, however, strengthen the hands of those who are by lending our financial support.

When that is done, start writing letters to Congressmen, the President, and any other persons who are responsible for promoting such a course. The nation which imprints *In God We Trust* on its coins, which cancels its postage with *Pray For Peace* had better look out or it will be moaning "Deliver us from evil," the evil of our own creation.

Ruth H. Pool
Seattle, Wash.

Appreciation from Prague

Dear Sirs:

As a reader from a distant country (and, in the eyes of some, behind the Iron Curtain at that), I want to tell how much I enjoy your magazine. To an American married to a Czech and almost ten years away from home, it was a most welcome gift subscription. Unfortunately, not every issue has reached me but those that have I have read thoroughly.

I find *The Progressive* an excellent guide to the important issues which concern serious-minded Americans who are—to use a good Quaker word—concerned about the world and its tragic split. Thank you for the saneness of your articles and for their uprightness. That too seems a rather old-fashioned little word these days but the lack of chromium plating is what makes your articles ring so true.

I extend best wishes to the magazine and its future—its mission is a more peaceful, trustful world, telling the truth not only about things inside the United States but clearing up the many misconceptions which still exist about life here "behind the Iron Curtain."

Your magazine has indeed been a most welcome friend for me and for many of our acquaintances here who otherwise know little of the United States.

Jeanne Washabaugh Nemcova
Prague, Czechoslovakia

America's Rotten Boroughs

Dear Sirs:

Attention needs to be brought to a practice which results in the disenfranchisement of millions throughout the United States. Most states have apportioned their districts so that rural voters have a voice in government out of all proportion to their numbers.

This discrimination is particularly acute in relation to the state legislature. In California, 4,500,000 people in Los Angeles county have the same representation in the state senate as do 14,000 people in one of the upstate senatorial districts. Michigan elected two Democratic U.S. Senators, a Democratic governor, and yet mysteriously gave the state legislature over to the opposition party. Indeed, Governor G. Mennen Williams has been saddled with a Republican legislature for a decade now.

The remedy for such injustice cannot be found within the legislature, as this body's strength originates from the very practice we seek to reform. Less than one-third of the states have done any reapportioning in recent years and some have done none for more than a half-century.

In such a situation one naturally looks to the courts for justice. In *Colegrove v. Green* (1946) three Illinois voters challenged the constitutionality of unequal representation in Congressional districts, but the Supreme Court dismissed the complaint and said that distribution of seats was a state matter. Mr. Justice Frankfurter stated that "It is hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people." But Mr. Justice Black, dissenting, held that such discrimination is violative of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

Recently a group of urban dwellers in Minnesota petitioned the district court for reapportionment of the state legislature, and although the Court dismissed the complaint, it accepted jurisdiction and gave notice that it would rehear the case if action was not taken by the Minnesota legislature. One cannot help but hope that the federal courts will answer this appeal for reform when it is so sorely needed.

Those of us who cherish the precious guarantees of the 14th Amendment will not be satisfied until America is rid of her own "rotten boroughs" and all men are equal under the law.

William B. Gould
Elberon, N.J.

Madhouse of the Universe

Dear Sirs:

In the January *Progressive* Daniel Talbot, after prophesying that within ten years the world may well become one immense insane asylum, remarked that "many people believe that such is the condition of the race now." Certainly many thoughtful people on this side of the Atlantic long ago came to that conclusion. But it is no new idea. In the comparatively sane Eighteenth Century Voltaire was writing: "I greatly fear," said Memnon, "that our little terraqueous globe must be the very madhouse of the universe which you have honored me by describing."

Esme Wynne-Tyson
Sussex, England

Plight of the Farmer

Dear Sirs:

I am a farmer. But I am fortunate enough to have other sources of income which support my financially dubious endeavors on the farm. Also there still remains some residue from happier days before the Farm Bureau gained such control over the destiny of American agriculture. Nor is my lack of fortune at farming due to the fact that I am a marginal or inefficient farmer. On the contrary, I operate a relatively large farm of traditional corn belt fertility and amenability to mechanization.

My difficulties stem from the fact that as I have been improving my efficiency and producing more crop yield per acre and operating more acres, my costs have been rising as fast as the market price for my production has been falling, until the two are desperately close to a meeting place. Indeed, my pencil tells me that the money in my investment is no longer even earning 50 per cent of the cost of that money on the public money market. Also, I haven't made any charges or recovered any returns for long hours of often grueling labor, and no reward for considerable cost-cutting and corner-cutting supplied by a reasoned and not stodgy management.

Therefore, the condition of American agriculture has deteriorated to a point where the public and its leadership should be appropriately alarmed. To that end I hope you will publish this short synopsis of the plight of one farmer whose story will soon be legion.

Ted Savich
Rensselaer, Ind.

Kennedy Self-Centered

Dear Sirs:

I was greatly interested in your article on Senator John F. Kennedy (December). I feel, as many of us in Massachusetts politics feel, that it failed to indicate strongly enough that he is an extremely self-centered man, a "Democratic Nixon" in his approach to problems, who forms intense personal likes and dislikes. This quality could be damaging in a President.

For example, in 1954, because of a minor personal argument, Kennedy refused to endorse Governor Foster Furcolo for the United States Senate.

Furcolo was defeated by only .7 of one per cent. As a result the Senate barely missed by 49-47 going Republican, which would have meant that Senator Joe McCarthy would have kept his committee chairmanship, and that many Democratic programs would have been stymied.

I think this is indicative that Kennedy may not be mature enough, or interested enough in the Democratic Party, to be President.

George Moran
Boston, Mass.

Police Study Available

Dear Sirs:

We appreciated greatly the Holiday Greetings to our pioneering study, *Secret Detention by the Chicago Police.*

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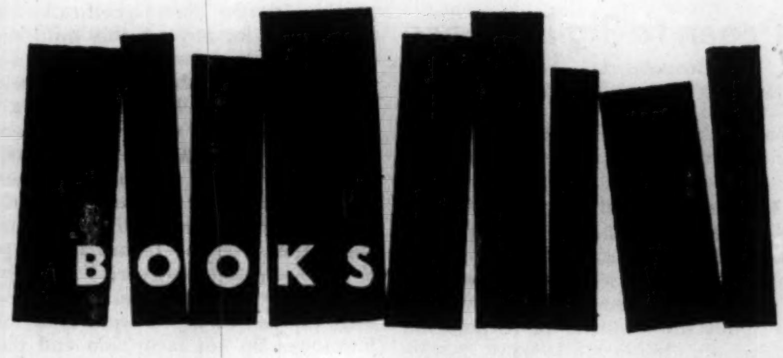

Human Survival

ORGANIZING PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. New York University. 245 pp. $3.75.

AMERICA THE VINCIBLE, by Emmet John Hughes. Doubleday. 306 pp. $3.95.

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Oskar Morgenstern. Random House. 306 pp. $3.95.

BEYOND SURVIVAL, by Max Ways. Harper. 250 pp. $4.

STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL, by Wayland Young. Penguin. 94 pp. 75 cents.

Reviewed by

William L. Neumann

NAZI GERMANY set a historical record for mass killings with some five million Jews and anti-Nazis plus more than twenty million Russians who died of bullets, bombs, starvation, and cold. This record horrified civilized men at the time. Today in high places in Washington men talk in technical terms of the sacrifice of fifty million, a hundred million or even a hundred and fifty million of their fellow countrymen while they expect to kill an even larger number of Russians. As Robert Oppenheimer recently asked, "What are we to think of such a civilization which has not been able to talk about the prospect of killing almost everybody except in prudential and game-theoretic terms?" The ordinary American, faced with the stark facts, can be expected to do little more than curse governments and science and then to turn to the television screen to put his mind at rest.

These five books deal with the problems of human survival posed by the threat of thermonuclear war and the joint conviction in Moscow and Washington that war may be necessary in defense of national interests. Oskar Morgenstern in *The Question of National Defense,* as a specialist in games theory, attempts to work out a strategy for the United States. He begins with an assumption which he does not question, that the Soviet Union is determined to risk war to dominate the world and has only been restrained by the threat of American power.

Within this framework Morgenstern bluntly presents the facts of America's defenselessness. He writes off efforts to protect the urban population as being practically nil. He believes any effective shelter program for cities against blast destruction would require an effort and expenditure too great for this country to undertake. Fallout shelters for people outside the blast area are a practical possibility, but a crash program of construction would be dangerous, Morgenstern believes, by giving the impression that the United States was preparing to take the initiative in attacking.

Even though the survival of the bulk of the national population is jeopardized by war, Morgenstern has little hope for political efforts, based on moral or religious considerations, to prevent war. The way offered is to make war technologically impossible by assuring the self-destruction of the nation which begins it. To do this he urges that the United States move its attacking bases to the oceans, using submarines and future Polaris missiles along with atomic-powered seaplane bombers. This hidden, virtually indestructible retaliatory force would, he hopes, make war self-defeating.

Morgenstern's proposal would go far to neutralize mainland United States as a military center. A Britisher, Wayland Young, in *Strategy for Survival* would neutralize the whole world outside of the United States and the Soviet Union. Young is a proponent of the non-nuclear club, including China, as the first step towards disarmament. Each nation would ban bomber or missile bases on their soil and rely on conventional weapons for their defense. Progress in such a plan, Young hopes, would encourage American and Russian nuclear disarmament under the United Nations.

The group of Americans who make up the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace are far more conservative in their approach. Their policy recommendations urge further effort on the part of the U.N. Disarmament Commission and the majority of members agreed that it is "desirable" eventually to have China in the U.N.

Beyond Survival was written by a *Time* editor at the request of Henry Luce, who wanted a review of American foreign policy. It is based on the assumption that John Foster Dulles was a great Secretary of State. In regard to the major American postwar decisions, "These acts were not wrong. Indeed, the only defect about them from the moral side—and it is a serious defect—is that we did not appreciate how right they were." There is much more of the same for those who find this framework consoling.

* * *

Emmet Hughes' *America the Vincible* is, by contrast, a superb volume. Hughes, a former *Time-Life* man and an Eisenhower speech writer in 1952 and 1956, has dared to think beyond the cliches he contributed to those campaigns. The result is something which is at times profound and consistently effective in exposing the poverty of the Acheson-Dulles approach to the international world.

With a writer's concern for words Hughes analyzes the perversion of meaning in the rhetoric used in support of American policy. "Peace-loving nations," "free world," "massive retaliation," and "liberation" are all dissected to show the shabbiness of these glittering words in practice. The United States must begin to seek its way by banning smug proclamations, "Truman doctrines," "Eisenhower doctrines," and self-righteous poses. Only a return to diplomacy, to direct negotiations which face up to American weaknesses and use American strength, can save the republic.

Given the sense of urgency felt by all these writers, the 1960 campaign may well be America's last chance to face the truth of the nation's position and to act politically. Will any candidate have enough faith in American intelligence to be frank in putting the issues of national survival in the forefront of the campaign? Or, as Morgenstern and Hughes suggest, has well padded escapism become a national mania so that the only politically "safe" issues are those which gloss over the real threat to America and to civilization itself?

Paean to Big Business

BIG BUSINESS AND FREE MEN, by James C. Worthy. Harper. 205 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

T. K. Quinn

YOU MAY take it from one who has been there that the subordinate officers in big business would be risking their necks if they ever wrote a book with any such title as this one without the approval of corporation superiors. James C. Worthy, a vice president of Sears, Roebuck, protects his position in advance by getting his boss to write an endorsing foreword.

What follows is largely a paean to big business, when it is not apologizing, as Worthy does specifically in his preface, for any possible mild reflections on business and for any failure to emphasize the problems posed by the "powerful labor movement." Quite naively and nicely he discusses but never comes to grips with basic motives, questions; or issues. Does not the individual in big business sacrifice his freedom and individuality to the imperatives of organization? Is not honest free enterprise actually overwhelmed by the requirements of huge capital and group and industrial harmony? Do not favoritism and patience to stand in line become more essential to promotion than merit or ability? Must not the individual conform to the corporation image and concentrate on its objectives to the practical exclusion of other interests? Do not the very impersonality, complexity, and size of big business tend to crush real freedom? For all of these pressing, vital questions and many more concerning the free man in a big business society, Worthy has no answers.

As a defender of the conservative viewpoint the author would do well to acquaint himself with Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind.* Kirk says, "American businessmen are deficient in the disciplines that nurture the spirit." And "One can graduate from the business school, quite innocent of ethical principle or even decent tastes." But Worthy evidently never heard of Kirk, Justice Brandeis, Thorstein Veblen, Charles Beard, or John K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society,* or of Adolph Berle, Sumner Slichter, or Gardiner Means. Yet he decries the intellectual's opposition to business motives and pursuits.

To Worthy's credit he wishes business were more democratic and idealistic and humane and he argues unconsciously for smaller organization when he asks for closer ties with management. He would discard vertical forms in favor of the horizontal where he thinks the individual is not so smothered.

However, when it comes to granting employes a place in the sun he says, "Business cannot be run by the ballot box . . . organized activity requires a degree of consensus, and evidence of lack of consensus is 'disturbing' to those in positions of responsibility." "Intolerable" would be more accurate. Hence the organization man, conformity, impersonality,

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apathy, and a big business society that is showing serious signs of moral sickness. Big business in America has developed into an oligarchy of private capital with enormous power that is not being effectively checked by our democratically organized society.

This Is the End Of Flem Snopes

Frederick J. Hoffman

MY REVIEW of William Faulkner's recent novel, *The Mansion* (Random House), may best begin with a quotation from another book, *Faulkner in the University* (University of Virginia Press).

> Question: "Are the Snopeses really taking over Jefferson, and is there any group that might hold them out?"
>
> Faulkner: "The Snopeses will destroy themselves . . ."

This is what they do in the third and last of the Yoknapatawpha series, which Faulkner has called simply *Snopes*.

Consider what this means to any reader of the trilogy. *The Hamlet* (1940) offered us the first full-scale portrayal of the tribe; it descended upon the tiny community of Frenchman's Bend, and took it over gradually but inexorably; after which Flem, the master scoundrel of all modern literature, moved into Jefferson, where we followed his adventures in *The Town* (1957). Here a significant change occurred: having achieved a "horizontal" conquest of the Yoknapatawpha terrain and its business affairs, in Jefferson Flem progressed vertically, up the ladder toward "respectability." Faulkner abhors respectability far more than any other social vice. As he said, in another of his University of Virginia sessions,

> ". . . the rapacious people—if they're not careful—they are seduced away and decide that what they've got to have is respectability, which destroys one, almost anybody. That is, nobody seems to be brave enough anymore to be an out-and-out blackguard or rascal . . . sooner or later he's got to be respectable, and that finishes it."

These observations, and many like them, help us to understand the manner of Flem Snopes's death described in *The Mansion*. Looking back upon his earlier career, we expected somehow that he would go on forever, that there was no limit to his conquests. The truth as it now appears is that not only is the field of his success limited but he is himself a man of distinct limitations. In fact, Flem Snopes is proved to be only a minor rogue, whose practice of evil is definitely circumscribed—not by the lack of social opportunity, but by a failure of imagination. He has reached the outermost limit of achievement, is president of the bank and lives in the "mansion" vacated by his dispossessed predecessor. More surprising, Flem almost ceases acting in this third book; whatever he seems to be doing here turns out to be a defensive action, an attempt to hold what he has gained.

Which is to say that Faulkner has set a limit to one of his more notoriously extravagant characterizations. But, in addition, in *The Mansion* he defines the terms of this limit. It is necessary that a Snopes destroy a Snopes; this form of destruction suggests that within the mechanism of evil is contained the means of its own collapse. The end of Flem Snopes's career comes at the conclusion of one of the most fascinating of all Faulkner's skillful portrayals of violent behavior. Mink Snopes, a lean, even a frail man, had murdered his neighbor, Houston; that event, brilliantly described in *The Hamlet,* is here reviewed. He expects that Flem will help to "spring him," but Flem stays away (it is not in his nature or to his advantage for a Snopes to help another Snopes) and Mink is sent off to the prison farm at Parchman, Mississippi. With an obsessive patience and determination, he plans his revenge. The opportunity arrives after a 38-year stretch in prison. Mink gradually makes his way back to Jefferson, his sole purpose to rid the world of Flem.

This brief sketch is a quite inadequate means of suggesting the rich substance of *The Mansion.* Faulkner seems to have caught his second breath in this book. The narrative is not well paced, and much gets in the

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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

David Dubinsky, President

Memo to: Morris H. Rubin, Editor, The Progressive

From: Gus Tyler, Director
ILGWU Training Institute

Subject: A CAREER WITH A CHALLENGE.

Your readers, especially those under the age of 35, have been a source of talent, inspiration and raw material for us during the last few years. Each year, we have heard from your readers in response to our appeal for dedicated young men and women to work in the labor movement.

We are convinced that in every generation there is a segment of young people who would like to play a courageous and active role in changing the shape of things, and we are therefore renewing our invitation to a career that others—in this decade—have found a rewarding way of life.

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way of the telling. There is too much of the kind of informed digression that is so conspicuous in all of his recent Yoknapatawpha stories; as "sole owner and proprietor" of the county, he needs to tell us the latest gossip and to let us know just where and when we are in its history. Yet *The Mansion* benefits enormously from the fact that he has finally decided upon a terminus of the Flem Snopes story. All of the other Jefferson characters are here too: Gavin Stevens, Charles Mallison, V. K. Ratliff, Linde Snopes, even her father, Hoake McCarron—who reappears after a long absence from the scene.

The details of their participation in the saga will interest only the most devoted of tourists in Faulkner's world. Those who are seeing it for the first time will be puzzled by many of the references to its past, and much amused by Faulkner's unfailing talent for presenting the humor of its several situations. Most important to any reader of Faulkner is the sustaining evidence this novel provides concerning his moral point of view. He is essentially an earthy, practical, uncomplex "humanist," the type of person who can say that he much prefers the Old to the New Testament because the Old is "about people" and the New "about ideas."

I think it necessary to underscore this fact because there is a strong tendency in criticism to make Faulkner a theologian, a doctrinal exegete, and a man of extraordinary intellectual skill. To put the matter fairly, Faulkner has himself encouraged the critics, in his elaborate allegory-parallel of the Christian tradition, *A Fable* (1954), and in other statements that superficially appear to make him a modern prophet. One of the season's Faulkner items makes this question of interpretation important: Hyatt Waggoner's *William Faulkner: From Jefferson to the World* (University of Kentucky Press). There is hardly space in this review to do Waggoner justice—or for that matter, Faulkner, who needs above all to be protected from this kind of criticism. Not that there isn't much in this book that is precise and valuable, but Waggoner's major concerns tend to get in the way of Faulkner's.

Briefly, and at the risk of my being unfair, Waggoner feels above all the necessity to study Faulkner from a point of view that is halfway theological, halfway philosophical. Since Faulkner is neither theologian nor philosopher, but occasionally pretends to be both, the chances of confusion are irresistible. Despite all of the misleading rhetoric and symbolism in Faulkner's recent work, he is basically a simple kind of "folk moralist" who can say that "the Snopeses will destroy themselves" and can with the sharpest sensitivity to what that means in a *human* situation develop the narrative context in which it will be proved. Because of his love of pseudo-profundity, however, he is especially susceptible to Waggoner's kind of exhortatory and dogmatic discrimination.

I can only cite one or two of Waggoner's judgments in support of my view. Of Dilsey (*The Sound and the Fury*): "It may not be utterly fanciful to see her as becoming, finally, a kind of foster-mother of Christ, the enabling agent of a revelation at once spiritual and aesthetic." Vardaman's fish (*As I Lay Dying*) "parallels Christ killed and ritualistically eaten and drunk to prevent the death of the believer." The novel as a whole "not only reenacts the Eucharist, it is incarnational in its very form." It is nothing of the sort; and anyone who reads it in terms of its very shrewd moral analysis of family relationships will be spared the necessity, apparent in such a statement, to escape the humor and the horror of *As I Lay Dying* and to transcend its very common and simple ground of observation.

Waggoner's insights are half-truths; there is a strong temptation to accept them as great illuminations, especially since he often demonstrates a fine skill of moderate interpretation. He is a serious critic, with a considerable talent which he often forcibly misdirects toward "significant" irrelevancy. The best corrective is a reading of Faulkner himself and, to follow that, perhaps a look at Olga Vickery's new book, *The Novels of William Faulkner* (Louisiana University Press).

THE REVIEWERS

WILLIAM L. NEUMANN, formerly director of the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, is a professor of history at Goucher College. T. K. QUINN was formerly vice president of General Electric. FREDERICK HOFFMAN is professor of English at the University of Wisconsin. SUSAN BRADY is a member of the editorial staff of a national magazine. WILLIAM McCANN, who edited "Ambrose Bierce's America," reviews paperbacks regularly for The Progressive.

New Novels

by Susan Brady

One of the hazards of reviewing books for a monthly magazine is that reviews of the same books appear in newspapers and weekly magazines before you've written your own. Not one has missed Kay Boyle's *Generation Without Farewell* (Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95. 301 pp.), a tale of occupied Germany. I read them all carefully in a morbid search for some echo of my own irritation but found none.

This is the story of a group of people living in a Hessian town in the summer of 1948. There is Colonel Roberts, authoritarian to his bristling neck hairs; Catherine, the colonel's lady, thoroughly feminine and desirable; their daughter Millie, ethereal but with a secret strength; Millie's suitors—the weak and sycophantic Lieutenant Stephany, the cultured civilian Seth Honerkamp, and Christoph Horn, a German horse trainer with whom Millie is actually in love; and Jaeger, a German who had been a prisoner of war in the American West and who has now returned, a stranger in his own land. Jaeger is also a would-be lover of Mrs. Roberts and the central figure in the narrative. The action consists of a number of symbolic episodes, each involving one or more of the main characters, which illuminate the themes: Jaeger's search for identity, the contrast of New World and Old, the fundamental violence and amorality of the military type, and so on.

Marcia Davenport is an old hand at fantasy form. Though she claims to write slowly and with great effort—and has, in fact, published only six other books in her long career—*The Constant Image* (Scribner's. $3.95. 253 pp.) is as smooth and natural as sweet cream. Harriet Piers, a rich, beautiful, and spoiled American, is in Milan "recovering" from her broken marriage. She has an affair with Carlo Dalverio, a wealthy Milanese industrialist and notorious lady's man. They fall in love, thus breaking the traditional rules of the game as played in Milan, but part, as they must, he returning to his family and faithful wife Pina and she to her glamorous but meaningless life in New York.

Mrs. Davenport writes about things

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she knows: good music, good food, fine clothes, and northern Italy where she has lived for the past several years. But what she knows better than anything else is the hearts of her readers. Millions of American husbands home after a hard day at the office will suffer for not being Carlo, little knowing that their wives have left the dishes in the sink to be Harriet Piers for a day.

Marcia Davenport and Kay Boyle have written about love so glossed over and sentimentalized that it is hard to believe their characters ever have physical needs. In *Rosemarie* (Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75. 239 pp.), Erich Kuby takes us into the subterranean world of human love. His journalistic novel is based on an incident that occurred in Germany several years ago—the unsolved murder of a call-girl whose clients included famous industrialists who had bought both affection and information about their competitors. Kuby reconstructs the story with meticulous attention to detail, ably describing the rise of Rosemarie, from streetwalker to kept woman to *poule de luxe,* and her inevitable fall. Though at least as far from my experience as the complications of a love affair between an American divorcee and a European married man or the machinations of a mad colonel, the greed and stupidity of a whore and the loneliness of powerful men seem more immediate. In *Rosemarie* the characters destroy themselves or their lives simply by being themselves.

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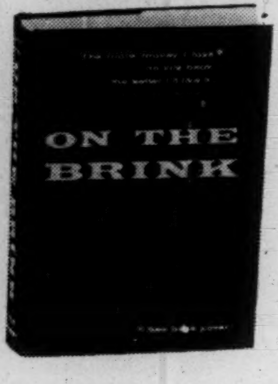

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